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manpower

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completing the puzzle:
some issues and ideas

manpower

A message from the Secretary

During the dark days of 1864, Abraham Lincoln went out to speak to the 166th Ohio Regiment, to explain why the struggle should be maintained. "It is," he said, "in order that each of you, through this free government, has an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence. . . ."

Today, more than 100 years later, this struggle for "an open field and a fair chance" continues. That is what our Nation's manpower efforts are all about.

My hope for this new magazine, MANPOWER, is that it will advance these national efforts to equip every American for meaningful employment in a growing economy. As the most comprehensive publication covering all aspects of manpower programs and policies, it should serve as the central forum for reporting and debating our efforts -- our successes and our failures.

MANPOWER's first issue provides the basis to reflect upon the future course of these programs. The fact that we have come a long way in a short time gives us the satisfaction of knowing that we have the capacity to advance still further and the knowledge that we have only to exert the will to do so.

In the crucial years ahead, MANPOWER can be an eloquent voice for a society which guarantees to each individual the "open field and fair chance" needed to make his or her aspirations a reality. If it is, it will have fulfilled its promise.

Willard Wirtz

Secretary of Labor

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Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Assistant Secretary for Manpower

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by STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG*

manpower training—the seeds of a dilemma

The Labor Department has been working hard for the past 8 years to knock itself out of the business of helping prepare the unemployed for jobs.

There is no question that if the Department's effort in manpower development and training programs achieves its ultimate goal—full employment for everyone who wants work—there will be no need for further programs for the jobless.

This is neither an idle gambit in forensics nor an idle ploy for regarding the growing role of the Department in such programs. The Manpower Administration has always regarded its present manpower programs as a short-range effort. The fundamental precept is simple: round up all the disadvantaged jobless, the poorly prepared, the school dropout, the occupationally unprepared, and train them through all available means for reasonable and rewarding work.

At the same time, the Labor Department is counting on the long-range activities of our school systems to better prepare the new labor force entrants for the job market, eventually relieving the Department of any further need for labor force employability training.

The long-range goal is most important. It must be, because the support by the Federal Government of training for the disadvantaged and unprepared should not and cannot continue and grow forever.

The Labor Department looked at the status of the hard-core of unemployed youths and adults in the Nation and suggested more than a decade ago that we had to do something about the source of this unemployment. The source, it was pointed out clearly and graphically, was the continuing and growing rate of dropouts or pushouts from our schools, as well as advancing technology and automation. The decade of the sixties, we said, would produce more than 10 million jobseekers who would not have finished high school. We also pointed out that the number and types of jobs such persons could fill were diminishing rapidly with each year, even as the dropout rate increased.

The number of dropouts this past year, for example, edged near the 1 million mark while we were spending more than $871 million in providing training, work experience, or other job-related services for nearly 1.2 million unemployed or underemployed persons.

At this rate, the Labor Department will never get out of the business of helping to train the unemployed. At this rate, the Labor Department may have to go to the Congress and ask for more money to cope with what could become a true American dilemma. There is no question that the Nation's school systems must adjust to the problems not only of those who go to college but also of those who intend only to finish high school.

The seeds of the dilemma are with us today. The school system, at great expense, keeps turning out ill-prepared persons for the labor force; and the Federal Government, at great expense, attempts to mold these persons into productive citizens with the aid of private industry, using the same basic training which was available in the school system.

But, the school system, both vocational and academic, has tended to recede from the realistic needs of the present and the future. Learning for the sake of learning, arbitrary academic requirements, and poor teaching tools have taken their toll of pupils. Systems that insist on the standards of the past, the hoary traditions, have tended to inspire apathy and total disinterest among the young recipients. This glaze of apathy seems to have reached upward into the curricula and to those who teach them.

According to the Interagency Manpower Planning Task Force, there are currently about 11 million persons chronically in poverty, for whom better employment is a possible solution to their own poverty and the poverty of their dependents. Perhaps two-thirds of these persons —somewhat more than 7 million— possess inadequate education and training for the skills required in today's job market. About 1.5 million are suffering from various degrees of physical, mental, or emotional disability, but could nevertheless be prepared for productive work, either by overcoming the disability or by developing a skill not affected by the disability. About 4.5 million, almost all women, are hindered in their quest for gainful employment by household responsibilities, and another 2.5 million young people are precluded from full-time employment by school responsibilities. And the great majority of the 11 million total may be handicapped by a lack of knowledge of what kinds of jobs are available, where they are, and how to go about applying for them.

As we look at 8 years of direct and growing effort on the part of the Federal Government to counter the growing mass of hard-core unemployed, we cannot say truthfully that we have turned the tide to eradicate the dilemma. We can say truthfully, however, that we know the dimensions of the problem, that we know the formula for its solution, and that we know what actions must be taken.

* Mr. Ruttenberg is Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, and Manpower Administrator.

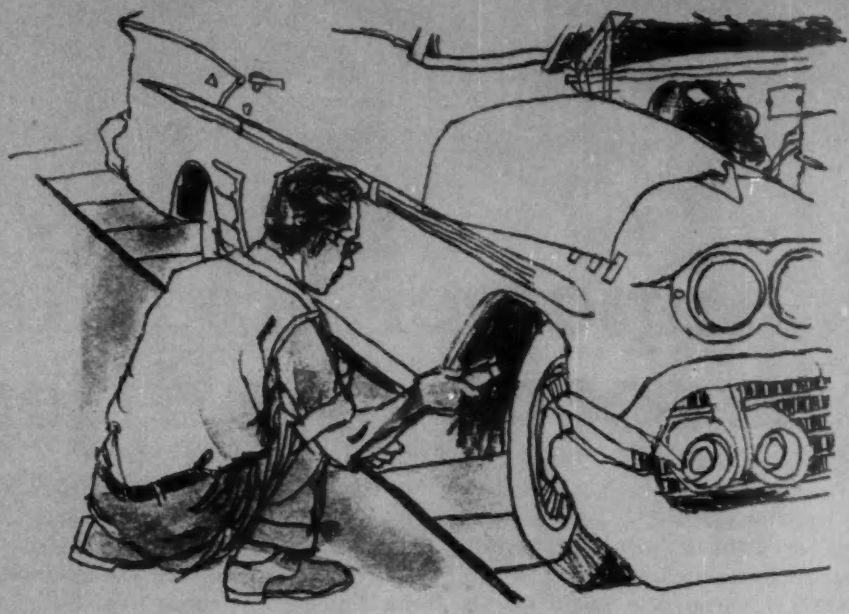
At the start of the decade we had something we called "depressed areas" and a bugaboo we called "automation" and/or "technological change." We attacked them with the Area Redevelopment Act in 1961 to relieve the so-called depressed areas. Organizations were set up to devise new industry for such areas and training programs for the residents to provide the productive capability.

This first major foray into government-sponsored training was timid and lacking in total resources to make the kind of impact necessary at a time when unemployment was over 6 percent and even greater in the major labor areas. The Manpower Development and Training Act, passed by the Congress the following year, called for the training and retraining of 100,000 jobless or underemployed persons in a 4-year period. This was more like what was needed but still minuscule compared to the more than 4 million unemployed at that time.

Perhaps the significant aspect in our training efforts in the early sixties was the interesting fact that we turned to the school systems to provide the vocational training. More than 75 percent of the MDTA funds were funneled into classroom training projects. Research and experimental projects took another 5 percent, and on-the-job training with employers took the rest.

We learned through our successes and failures. And, the Congress added new programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps to provide work experience for youngsters from poor families; the Job Corps to provide vocational training and work regimen in camps located away from poor city environments; Operation Mainstream to provide disadvantaged adults with work in needed community projects; the New Careers Program to provide young people and adults a chance to move up career ladders to subprofessional positions in the health, education, and government fields; and the Work Incentive Program to provide training and jobs for capable and available adults currently on welfare.

The addition of these programs provided the comprehensive scope and attack the Labor Department needed. At the beginning, there had been talk about the "lost generation," meaning those who were past their working prime and had little or nothing to provide a base for



training and a productive life. Sending such people back to school would have been useless, not to say unrealistic. But it would have been just as unrealistic to send them to a private employer for training. Here, the MDTA became the cornerstone of our entire manpower effort. We linked the classroom-type program with the on-the-job training program; split the cost and the time between the programs, emphasizing the job-training portion; and moved thousands of such hard-to-train persons into the economy.

As we progressed, we noted that the employer, with his "job-now" offer, was by far the most successful trainer in the program. More than 90 percent of the persons trained on the job were staying on the job. The costs in employer programs were averaging, at the beginning, about $400 per trainee.

But the realization grew that the hard-core disadvantaged unemployed and poorly employed from the big city ghettos were not being reached. A survey we undertook in 1966 showed that, while the Nation had an unemployment rate of 3.8 percent, the ghettos in 12 major cities had rates ranging from 18 to 36 percent for teenagers and from 6 to 16 percent overall.

We attacked this problem in earnest. We insisted that at least 65 percent of all persons scheduled for training programs be selected from among the hard-core disadvantaged, a phrase that has since become almost synonymous and interchangeable with "unemployed." This goal was attained.

We also turned to the people in the major cities who have the contacts and the concern to operate manpower programs

SERVING THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

- More than 1 million people have been enrolled in institutional, on-the-job, or combined training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act since 1962.
- Over half of those enrolled last fiscal year were disadvantaged.

56 percent fall in at least 2 of these categories:

Nonwhite
Less than 12th grade education
Under 22 or over 44 years old

on a community-wide basis. These community action programs have become the major avenues of local service, coupled closely to the wide range of services offered and conducted by the local State Employment Service offices.

The local employment offices began a program called human resources development, a sort of outreach program, reaching out into the depths of the ghetto and the hinterland of our rural areas to bring in the economically, educationally, culturally, and occupationally forsaken.

A good part of the people we began to reach were the Afro-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the Mexican-Americans, who seemed to comprise the vast majority of the disadvantaged hard-core unemployed in the big cities. The local employment service provided special people and special services to interview the hard core, to test, counsel, work with employers to develop jobs, to refer the hard core to training for specific jobs, and to direct them to such needed things as minor medical care and literacy training so they could get by in the tough competitive working world they had to face.

While the U.S. Employment Service has Human Resources Development in all States, we set up Concentrated Employment Programs—first in 22, then in 40 cities and rural areas, and now in 20 more—to bring this total effort of Community Action Agencies (CAA), the Employment Service, and other agencies into one central delivery system.

The CEP's used existing programs such as the MDTA classroom and on-the-job training programs, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Operation Mainstream, and New Careers, and combinations of all of these, when necessary, to do the job.

At the same time, we were turning more and more of our attention to the private sector and the realization that the business community had shown its ability for training people on the job successfully through the MDTA programs. Beginning in mid-1967 with a pilot program in 10 cities, we handed the whole job of training the hard-core unemployed—from recruitment and testing, to classroom and on-the-job training, with related and supportive services—to selected employers. This pilot program, which we called MA-1, was applied with a variation in 5 cities as MA-2, and now MA-3 and MA-4 in the Nation's 50 largest cities. The concept grew into what is now the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program with more than 1,500 employers having participated or currently participating in the training of more than 52,000 disadvantaged persons. Turning to the National Alliance of Businessmen, "JOBS" enabled us to develop jobs for those persons coming through the CEP and/or HRD systems. Private industry, through the Alliance which has undertaken the major share of the JOBS program, has pledged to hire and train 100,000 such persons by June of 1969 and 500,000 by mid-1971.

A significant factor in all of these programs has been the rising cost of such training. The cost is significant because of the lopsided amounts which have been expended for the classroom education that has been required for even the simplest of work processes. Simple on-the-job training programs conducted by employers for as little as $400 per person for 19 weeks have grown in cost to as much as $2,400 per person for 10 weeks in classroom training and 19 weeks on the job.

The National Alliance of Businessmen is negotiating contracts for 52 weeks of training for each disadvantaged person with as little as 15 weeks on the job for an average of $3,000 per person.

It is time we came to grips with some of the challenges we have been talking about for many years:

The United States has one of the highest unemployment rates in the Western World for youth who have left school and have just started on their life careers. While some of this high unemployment may have represented a desirable tradition of having youngsters try and choose a wide variety of jobs before settling down to their regular occupations, it has resulted in considerable hardship for many of the poorer youth.

I believe we now have the means to mount a strong effort, through a variety of approaches, to reduce this unnecessarily high unemployment. Among these approaches are:

(1) Improvement in the educational system and expansion of cooperative educational programs to prepare young people better for jobs.

(2) Special programs to take care of our dropouts or pushouts.

(3) Better channels of information and advice about the world of work and the actual process of getting jobs.

(4) Improvement in entry jobs to provide new opportunities to learn and to advance.

The new vocational education amendments just passed by Congress should provide tremendous impetus to expansion of this vital process of combining

- About 19,000 job opportunities have been provided through Operation Mainstream, which pays older workers in rural areas and small towns to improve their communities.
- The Concentrated Employment Program has registered 81,000 people, found jobs for more than 15,000 without training, trained more than 53,000 people, and found jobs for over 21,000 of these.
- The New Careers Program has opened 12,000 job opportunities to the poor and unemployed, training them as assistants to teachers, nurses, librarians, and other professionals.
- About 220,000 people are receiving skill training in apprenticeship programs registered with the Department of Labor.

- More than 1.5 million jobs have been provided through the Neighborhood Youth Corps for youngsters who want to work after school or who have dropped out of school and want work.
- 171 Youth Opportunity Centers have been set up and have helped 3.5 million find out about work and programs especially for young people. Nearly 900,000 of these youngsters have been placed in jobs and thousands more have been placed in other job-finding and job-preparation programs.
- Government and business have combined their efforts and hired nearly 100,000 people among the hard-core unemployed through JOBS Program (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector).

vocational education with actual work experience by involving educators with employers and students with jobs. The new amendments authorized $20 million this coming fiscal year, with the grants rising to $75 million by 1972, for expanding work-study arrangements. This is one of the most promising paths for reducing the unconscionable obstacles which lie in the way of students leaving school and entering the world of work.

I also believe it is time that we ended the artifical cleavage between vocational education and so-called academic education. All of our citizens require education to function effectively as citizens and to realize their potentials as human beings. Moreover, we know that literacy and the basic skills which should be developed in any educational process are also necessary for people to learn work skills properly and to advance in their jobs.

We also regard it as nonsense to have an imaginary line separate the individual's academic education and his participation in his life's career. Academic education would be enhanced, not compromised, if vocational preparation were introduced into our general school system. Moreover, an increase in vocational education might help to end the false hierarchy of values which educators have consciously or unconsciously introduced through their treatment of vocational education, the notion that preparation for a life career is a second-class activity for second-class citizens.

Of course, the educator should understand what is required of him in preparing his charges for the world of work. He should be aware of developments in the economy which are going to influence occupational demand.

One development is our changing industrial structure. One of the most striking changes of the past 60 years has been the shift from farm to nonfarm work. The portion of the civilian labor force engaged in agricultural work declined from 4 out of 10 near the turn of the century to 1 out of 20 in 1967.

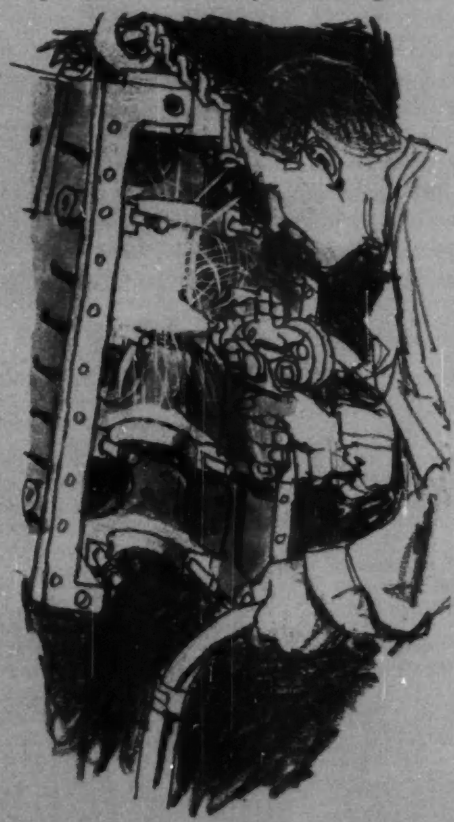
This decline has shifted the occupational emphasis to such industries as trade, finance, service, government, insurance, real estate, transportation, and public utilities.

While occupational forecasts are difficult, manpower requirements during the 1965-75 decade will provide additional new openings for nearly 4 million new workers.

The professional and technical occupations will increase by about 45 percent, twice as fast as in overall employment. They are expected to rise from 8.9 million in 1965 to 12.9 million in 1975. This increase will provide 651,000 new openings and more than 3.3 million replacements for those who retired, died, or shifted to other jobs.

Another occupational field of great importance to those concerned with education and training programs is the fast growing clerical or office field; it will increase by a third. There need hardly be a reminder of the seemingly hopeless task of training sufficient numbers of secretaries and stenographers to meet our needs —on the average there will be 175,000 openings a year for this occupational cluster alone. But it may not be realized that the number of office machine operators is expected to double and that the number of electronic computer workers is expected to increase by about 140 percent during the coming decade. The rise in the clerical field will be from 11.1 million to 14.6 million. This increase will provide 784,000 new openings and more than 3.5 million replacement jobs.

Employment in service occupations is expected to increase by a third—growth



in this field is second only to that of professional and technical occupations. The fastest growing areas will be in jobs for protective service workers, food service workers, and hospital attendants. This rise will be from 9.3 million to 12.6 million in 1975. This increase will provide almost 790,000 new job openings and more than 3.3 millon placements.

It is true that growth in total employment of blue-collar workers will be smaller than the average overall employment rise during the decade. But the number of skilled craftsmen will need to increase by nearly a fourth, somewhat faster than overall employment; and it is expected that there will be about 400,000 job openings in such occupations, slightly over half resulting from growth in the field, and the balance to replace workers lost through attrition. Jobs for semiskilled workers will increase less than the overall average; but because replacement needs are high and this is still the largest of all occupational groups, there will be great numbers of job openings.

Only one occupational group is expected to remain stationary in size—nonfarm laborers. And only one occupation is expected to decline in size—that of farmers and farmworkers, which is expected to decrease by more than a fifth.

These facts have been known for at least a decade with slight shifts in the percentages. Have the schools, has vocational education, done anything about it? At present, only 1 of 5 high school students goes on to get a 4-year college degree. Yet high schools continue to center on the college-bound rather than on the overwhelming percentage who are bound for careers in the trades, services, and technical occupations. If 1 of 5 goes on to get a degree, then at least 24 million youngsters should be receiving vocational training or some form of vocational guidance or skill preparation today. Yet only 8 million are enrolled in such courses, and a fantastic 40 percent are enrolled in home economics and agricultural courses.

These numbers show the inherent failure to get to the heart of the problems of city ghettos and rural wastelands, for at this heart is the need for educating and training people for jobs.

Some of this failure may be attributed to the Labor Department. Obviously, a better job must be done of informing the

schools and their administrators, the governing bodies and their planners, the student and his parent of the realistic demands awaiting the labor force entrant on his initial capabilities. A better job must be done by the Labor Department in delineating the occupations that need prepared persons—not nationally, but at a regional and local level.

Manpower programs have not found all the solutions. Neither the Labor Department nor any other Federal agency is capable of finding anything more than a short-range solution for our manpower problems. The answer lies in the hands of our educational system—a system that has been the foundation and the strength of our country. The task of that system today must be to improve the school curricula to prevent the school pushout, dropout, and hordes of unprepared persons from decending on the job market, unskilled, untrained, and unwanted.

The anatomy of our school system is much like that of the universe. We speak of it as an entirety, an entity; yet it is but a system of a multitude of systems, each operating on its own. Reaching these systems, reaching their administrators and governing bodies to bring home the message of our manpower dilemma, is the great task. There is no doubt that once the message is understood the vaunted American system of education will once again be the main instrument of our progress, guided by reality rather than by rote and wish. The Head Start Program to give tots from disadvantaged homes the highly important momentum children need in the preschool-age groups is one of the great forward steps and the type of innovation needed in our educational concepts to reinvigorate the system.

In the meantime, the Federal Government will continue to shore up the Nation's manpower assets with as many short-range programs as possible with the aid of the education system and private enterprise. The dilemma of providing elementary training and preparation by the business sector with the aid of Federal funds while similar funds are being expended for ostensibly the same purpose in our classrooms must be resolved. We recognize that the resolution of this dilemma will take a long time.

Only when this long-range goal is achieved will the Labor Department's manifold manpower programs dwindle and become a page in history.

STATISTICS

SERVING THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN FIVE MANPOWER PROGRAMS FISCAL YEAR 1968

Characteristic	Manpower Development and Training Act		Neighborhood Youth Corps		Operation Mainstream	New Careers	Concentrated Employment Program
	Institutional Training	On-the-job Training	In school & summer	Out of school			
Total:							
Number (thousands)	140.0	125.0	360.8	113.9	15.2	5.9	53.5
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION							
Sex							
Male	55.4	68.3	54.0	49.4	84.3	36.8	48
Female	44.6	31.7	45.8	50.6	15.7	63.2	52
Color							
White	51.1	64.4	53.9	50.4	59.5	24.8	15
Nonwhite							
Negro	45.2	32.9	42.1	45.2	25.4	73.9	81
Other	3.7	2.7	4.0	4.4	15.1	1.3	4
Education							
8th grade or less	19.3	15.7	13.3	28.4	57.2	15.1	23
9th-11th grade	40.5	34.2	85.5	65.0	25.5	46.8	55
12th and over	40.2	50.1	1.1	6.6	17.4	38.0	22
Age							
Under 19	14.8	11.7	94.5	61.1	} 3.7	} .5	} 36
19-21	23.5	23.4	5.5	37.4			
22-44	50.7	54.2	0.0	1.4	51.7	85.3	55
45 and over	11.0	10.7	0.0	0.0	44.6	14.1	9
Duration of unemployment							
14 weeks or less	55.3	64.8	} 63.8	} 73.2	} 61.1	} 62.3	51
15-26 weeks	15.5	12.5					17
27 weeks or more	29.2	22.7	36.3	26.8	39.0	37.6	32
Head of family	54.7	54.4	.5	10.5	63.0	61.8	53
Enrollee and/or family on assistance	12.5	5.1	27.9	27.8	16.2	32.7	19

NOTE: Percent distribution data for NYC, Operation Mainstream, and New Careers cover the period September 1967—August 1968.
Detail may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

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Manpower programs have not found all the solutions. Neither the Labor Department nor any other Federal agency is capable of finding anything more than a short-range solution for our manpower problems. The answer lies in the hands of our educational system—a system that has been the foundation and the strength of our country. The task of that system today must be to improve the school curricula to prevent the school pushout, dropout, and hordes of unprepared persons from decending on the job market, unskilled, untrained, and unwanted.

The anatomy of our school system is much like that of the universe. We speak of it as an entirety, an entity; yet it is but a system of a multitude of systems, each operating on its own. Reaching these systems, reaching their administrators and governing bodies to bring home the message of our manpower dilemma, is the great task. There is no doubt that once the message is understood the vaunted American system of education will once again be the main instrument of our progress, guided by reality rather than by rote and wish. The Head Start Program to give tots from disadvantaged homes the highly important momentum children need in the preschool-age groups is one of the great forward steps and the type of innovation needed in our educational concepts to reinvigorate the system.

In the meantime, the Federal Government will continue to shore up the Nation's manpower assets with as many short-range programs as possible with the aid of the education system and private enterprise. The dilemma of providing elementary training and preparation by the business sector with the aid of Federal funds while similar funds are being expended for ostensibly the same purpose in our classrooms must be resolved. We recognize that the resolution of this dilemma will take a long time.

Only when this long-range goal is achieved will the Labor Department's manifold manpower programs dwindle and become a page in history.

STATISTICS

SERVING THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN FIVE MANPOWER PROGRAMS FISCAL YEAR 1968

Characteristic	Manpower Development and Training Act: Institutional Training	Manpower Development and Training Act: On-the-job Training	Neighborhood Youth Corps: In school & summer	Neighborhood Youth Corps: Out of school	Operation Mainstream	New Careers	Concentrated Employment Program
PROGRAM							
Total:							
Number (thousands)	140.0	125.0	360.8	113.9	15.2	5.9	53.5
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION							
Sex							
Male	55.4	68.3	54.0	49.4	84.3	36.8	48
Female	44.6	31.7	45.8	50.6	15.7	63.2	52
Color							
White	51.1	64.4	53.9	50.4	59.5	24.8	15
Nonwhite							
Negro	45.2	32.9	42.1	45.2	25.4	73.9	81
Other	3.7	2.7	4.0	4.4	15.1	1.3	4
Education							
8th grade or less	19.3	15.7	13.3	28.4	57.2	15.1	25
9th-11th grade	40.5	34.2	85.5	65.0	25.5	46.8	55
12th and over	40.2	50.1	1.1	6.6	17.4	38.0	22
Age							
Under 19	14.8	11.7	94.5	61.1	} 3.7	} .5	} 36
19-21	23.5	23.4	5.5	37.4			
22-44	50.7	54.2	0.0	1.4	51.7	85.2	55
45 and over	11.0	10.7	0.0	0.0	44.6	14.1	9
Duration of unemployment							
14 weeks or less	55.3	64.8	} 63.8	} 73.2	} 61.1	} 62.3	51
15-26 weeks	15.5	12.5					17
27 weeks or more	29.2	22.7	36.3	26.8	39.0	37.6	32
Head of family	54.7	54.4	.5	10.5	63.0	61.8	53
Enrollee and/or family on assistance	12.5	5.1	27.9	27.8	16.2	32.7	19

NOTE: Percent distribution data for NYC, Operation Mainstream, and New Careers cover the period September 1967—August 1968. Detail may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

ISSUES FOR MANPOWER'S ACTION PROGRAMS

By GEORGE P. SHULTZ*

The surge of prosperity we have experienced over the past few years has brought into sharp focus the difficulty of dealing with problems of nonwhite unemployment and underemployment, particularly for teenagers and young adults. Strong efforts to work at the problem have led to greater understanding, and have enlarged the pool of ideas on which to draw for action programs. But if something has been learned, that something also reveals the complexity of the problem and the large amount that is as yet unknown. This article explores a few issues and ideas that I hope will have practical significance.

Some Aspects of the Unemployment Problem

We can with some justification describe unemployment today as a disease that is endemic among nonwhite teenagers while the general population enjoys robust health. While unemployment went down for the work force as a whole between 1961 and 1967, the unemployment rate of the teenage nonwhite remained the same. In 1961, when the rate for the total labor force was nearly 6.7 percent, for the nonwhite 16-to-19-year-olds it was about 28 percent. In 1967, when unemployment generally dropped below 4 percent, among nonwhite 16-to-19-year-olds it was still about 28 percent.

The size of the problem becomes more apparent when we go behind the rates to absolute numbers. In these terms, when we compare 1961 and 1967, the number of unemployed white 16-to-19-year-olds declined by about 5 percent, while the number of unemployed nonwhites in this age group grew by 29 percent, reflecting growth in numbers for this segment of the labor force. It is clear that the problem is worsening.

December 12, 1968, Dr. Shultz was designated Secretary of Labor by President-elect Nixon. At that time Dr. Shultz was Professor of Industrial Relations and Dean, Graduate School of Business, the University of Chicago. In 1968 Dr. Shultz was on leave from the University of Chicago as a Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif. In November 1968, President-elect Nixon appointed Dr. Shultz as chairman of the Task Force on Manpower and Labor-Management Decisions.

Dr. Shultz's article was excerpted from a talk he gave last year at a Conference on Race and Unemployment, held at the University of Chicago.

Recent figures also seem to indicate that the unemployment status of the 1961-67 teenager is being carried with him into the 20-to-24-year-old group. And, based on projections taken from the 1968 *Manpower Report of the President,* within the general increase of 9 percent in the labor force, between 1970 and 1975, the rise in the nonwhite 16-24-year age group will be greater by far than the increase for any other group. The nonwhite male 16-24 component is expected to increase by 18 percent, and the white male group 16-24 by 10 percent. For the following period, 1975-80, the increase is projected to be 12 percent for the nonwhite group, as compared to 6 percent for the white.

These figures suggest the present and future importance of bringing the nonwhite 16-to-24-year-old group into the stream of labor force activity. The need will not diminish, but rather will grow substantially through the next decade and beyond.

Guidelines for Action Programs

How do we judge whether a proposed plan of action is a good one? The principles I will suggest are, in one sense, simply personal assertions. At the same time, I believe experience of the recent past gives some evidence in their favor.

(1) Income should, if possible, come through jobs. It is essential that people work at something, contribute something of value to society, and be paid for it. I would ask, then, whether a particular program is job oriented, as distinct from income oriented, even when the income is provided through what may be drastic alteration of the welfare system.

(2) Especially at the level of implementation, the people of the ghetto should be heavily involved in the administration of the program. This factor has been critical for a wide variety of programs. The ones that showed exciting promise and effectiveness tend to have been developed—at least at the implementation level as distinct from the broad policy level—among people who live, work, and spend their time in the ghettos.

(3) The centers of implementation should be reasonably small in size. Large networks of large centers mean bureaucracy. I do not think of that term as one of abuse, but with a large administering group, the creativity necessary for success in this area is too often stifled. The exciting programs—those which have demonstrated progress—have been relatively small. If they are individually too small to cope with this large problem, we can consider programs that generate many small centers in which many small groups can use their own energy and initiative.

(4) Private groups, both profit and nonprofit, should be drawn heavily into the action, as they increasingly are—at last. Government must be strongly involved, too, but governmental programs should seriously attend to patterns of collaboration among various groups. The comparative advantage of one group or another must be studied in order to discern which kinds of collaboration will pay off in terms of solutions.

(5) We should be realistic about the brass tacks aspects of every proposal. The bloom is off the rose of many "bold, imaginative programs" because they were started without a clear conception of the potential problems involved in making them work and a plan for dealing with these problems. People have come down to earth—a very good thing, for the problems of implementation are difficult, and only with realism can one hope to carry his organization through them.

(6) The question must be asked of every program: Is it sharply focused on the problem group? I am distressed at the broad range of governmental and private programs in which people have gradually slipped away from the main objective. This is very easy to do, and it is simple enough to understand how and why it happens—really only a matter of following the path of least resistance. For that reason, every program should include some mechanism to assure as far as possible that appropriated money, effort, and other resources are and will stay directed at the people about whom we are most worried.

(7) There should be a flavor of experimentation and variety in action programs. This is particularly important for the long term, but it has application in the short run as well. While there may be no big new programs or major appropriations in the current fiscal year, we will see much effort expended as a result of the thrust of current programs. Diversity among programs will be valuable because, while we may make strong assertions in favor of this or that program, we do not really know how any program will work. There is much to be learned, and there should be means developed for judging what has worked and what has failed. It is important also to stick with programs, to allow them to come to fruition and to work themselves out. One of our problems in manpower work has been that something is started, it goes for a while, it suffers reverses, appropriations are cut, then suddenly it is out of business and another one has been started. Time is needed to allow for a true test of effectiveness.

Programs and Issues for the Private Sector

The great variety of action programs, existing or proposed, for alleviating unemployment problems can be classed roughly in these categories:

(1) Manpower programs of government, including suggestions about their

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organization and measures to enlist the private sector in educational and employment processes;

(2) developments in the field of formal education;

(3) programs concerned with discrimination; and

(4) programs concerned with the ghetto itself, including ways to make it possible for people to leave the ghetto if they wish.

Within the past year, there has been a marked acceleration in the development of programs that would involve the private sector in an attack on unemployment. This promising development implies government stimulus to business performance. But if enlistment of the private sector may be fruitful, it also raises many issues of its own. Because of the importance of potential contributions of the private sector and the potential difficulties that action programs may encounter in this sphere, the following remarks concentrate on four issues of central concern to the private effort.

Issues of the Workplace

With programs involving the private sector in mind, I see as the first set of issues those of the workplace. We have hardly given the careful thought to this side of the problem that it deserves. Remember, we are talking about the idle, unemployed teenager—difficult to handle—and proposing to bring him into shops, unions, and offices throughout the country.

What about discipline? The person we are talking about is likely to be more tardy, more absent, more prone to conflict, and in general more difficult to bring to a productive level of work. What should be done if someone is repeatedly late? Absent? Difficult? Unproductive? If treatment of everyone is even-handed, our new employee will not last long. The problem will hardly be solved; it will hardly have been met. On the other hand, to ignore obvious and repeated violations of rules means the likelihood of deterioration in standards throughout the workplace.

Obviously, this is an issue on which union and company must talk very carefully before instituting a program. It is not only—or even especially—Walter Reuther and Henry Ford who should be involved; plant managers and local presidents, stewards, and foremen must discuss the problems and plan to meet them, including in their plans measures to gain acceptance of rank-and-file workers.

There is much to be said along these lines for a consortium of firms working on the problem. Under such a consortium, an employee could be released from one firm but not from the system of firms; he may be given a new start at another firm. The experience might constitute a kind of education, especially if it is thought through, organized, and planned in a way that makes it possible to maintain reasonable standards of performance in each shop, and to work with—rather than expel—people as they come along.

Another issue of the workplace concerns the probationary period. The median probationary period in most international union contracts is about 30 days. During the first 30 days, an employer can fire without reference to normal disciplinary procedures; after 30 days the employee is protected as a full-fledged worker. The rules are devised for the ordinary person entering the stream of employment. When the category of the person entering changes, should the probationary period be changed for everyone, if anyone?

Nothing is more sacrosanct than seniority. Yet, many people just entering a particular work situation under some special programs could have been there 5 years earlier, had they the chance. Should they begin at the bottom of the ladder? When it comes to layoffs, will they be among the first to go, or will some special provisions insulate them from the normal rules of the game? There will be questions about whatever is done, and no questions stir matters up as much as those involving seniority.

These and many other issues must be faced in the workplace. They cannot be ignored, for to do so will doom any program to failure before it even starts.

Issues of Comparative Advantage

Consider such functions as outreach, literacy training, acculturation to the discipline of work, skill training, placement, and guidance. Against these functions consider the agencies that might undertake them: Private employers, publicly and privately supported nonprofit groups, unions, schools, various levels and agencies of government.

The questions of comparative advantage involve the determination of who can best do what kind of function. Employers are not very effective at things like outreach. Government is not very effective either. The best jobs seem likely to be done by the nonprofit, indigenous groups in the neighborhoods who are part and parcel of the situation. They are able to reach out, find the people, and perform the first steps of getting an individual started. For many aspects of work training itself, private employers seem best equipped, but schools and various nonprofit or government groups may do better at some of the other necessary functions. Further, an effective program for an individual will include several of these functions so that the myriad problems of cooperative and productive relationships among the groups involved come quickly to the fore. Again, these are issues to be thought through and worked through with care.

Issues of Financing

A variety of methods for financing have been proposed, with the differences among them having clear implications for the way programs would be organized and administered. No matter what method of government finance is adopted, private money will inevitably be involved, at least in terms of the commitments of talented manpower to the administration of programs and of organizational strains in their implementation.

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders suggested that employers be given tax credits for employing each person in a designated group, however defined. The Commission said that this method is supported by employers, who are already accustomed to working through tax incentives, and that it has the advantage of being simple and direct. Standards for qualification and performance would still be necessary, however; and these would almost inevitably be administered by the Treasury and/or the Internal Revenue Service, not exactly their area of comparative advantage. In addition, this method has the disadvantage of further eroding the tax base.

A second method involves annual congressional appropriations with funds being made available either directly by Government agencies, as in many Manpower Development and Training Act activities, or by contracts between government agencies and private employers and/or nonprofit organizations. In either case, administration at the Federal level would presumably be by an agency specializing in the problems of hard-to-find-and-place workers; but the method of contracting out would encourage a multiplicity of points of implementation and thereby of experiments and of adaptation to local conditions. This is the pattern of the National Alliance of Business program, which has met with initial success and wide acceptance at least in the upper echelons of the business community.

There is a third method of financing that seems very attractive to me, but which has been little discussed. It accords well with the concept of people having greater personal control over their own destinies. This method too calls for annual appropriation of necessary funds by the Congress. But buying power, so to speak, would then be given to individuals, though not necessarily in the form of money. A person could receive credits entitling him to $5,000 worth of training, counseling, and wage subsidy benefits. It would be up to him to exercise these credits to his best advantage, as in the operation of the GI Bill.

This approach makes people nervous, perhaps because planners think they know more about the problem than the person who is unemployed, but such evidence as we have does not bear out this supposition. Certainly there is much to be thought through and learned about this type of approach. But I think experimentation with it should be most worthwhile, both with respect to the 19-year-old unemployed dropout and with respect to the school system itself. The expectation would be that new or drastically altered institutions of training would emerge, tailored much more to the needs of the disadvantaged. Alternatively or concurrently, experimental schools might be established in the ghetto, directly addressing themselves to the problems of their people without respect to the rest of the school system.

In school systems such as in New York City or Chicago, there are systemwide rules governing pay, job selection, seniority, curriculum, and so on. It is extremely difficult in such contexts to concentrate on the special needs of particular groups of students. It might be feasible to have bidding for a cooperative city-neighborhood-private school in a city, to be operated by a nonschool-system group. The money would be given explicitly for experimentation on problems of education in the ghetto. In any case, the objective would be a method of finance that placed expanded control of implementation in the hands of the people to be helped and that encouraged an educational program keyed to the area involved.

Issues of Control

Finally, there are issues of freedom and control in the operation of any of these programs. It is desirable to encourage variety, scope, and initiative, to promote conditions in which learning about programs may be maximized. At the same time, local groups, especially the private ones, on whom there would be much reliance, are not accustomed to being overseen in detail on this kind of matter.

Coexistent with the importance of freedom, there is the need for some control, some means of determining the nature of the fulfillment of a contract. I think we can expect much conflict on this issue.

I hope it is apparent from this discussion that many tests lie ahead for the quality of public-private relationships. Clearly, Government cannot do this job alone, nor, despite the current emphasis on privately operated programs, can private industry. Further, at every turn, there are opportunities for stress and strain, suspicion and recrimination, credit and blame involving the interaction of public and private groups. The Urban Coalition illustrates one axis of response to these problems and many others can be found in community after community. If pragmatic adaptation to the need to solve practical problems is the genius of American government and industry, we can hope that these severe tests will be met. One point is increasingly noted and abundantly clear. The disadvantaged are not alone in having much work to do.

The Profit Motive:

By Richard J. Maloy*

The American business and industrial community can make an important contribution toward solving the critical national problem of hard-core unemployment. While the private sector has already started to tackle this problem, it can do much more. Its full potential has yet to be tapped.

Given the proper circumstances, and barring an economic recession, the private sector can sharply reduce the number of hard-core unemployed. This is not to say that the private sector has a total solution. There are limitations on what private industry can do, and government must continue to play a crucial role.

It must be acknowledged at the outset that the American business and industrial establishment was woefully slow to recognize the important stake it had in seeking a solution to hard-core unemployment and other aspects of the poverty problem. For too long, the private sector took the position that the government alone had the responsibility for dealing with poverty problems. The catastrophic events in the big city ghettos during recent years changed all that. Riots and civil disorders in Watts, Detroit, Washington, Cleveland, and elsewhere jolted the private sector. There was a belated realization that the problems of poverty were so serious that they threatened the free enterprise system in which business flourished. Businessmen recognized that it was in their own self-interest to attack some of the underlying causes of poverty.

It is worth repeating that it was pure self-interest which prompted business to direct its attention to poverty problems.

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* Mr. Maloy is Director of Urban Affairs for the Avco Economic Systems Corporation, a subsidiary of the Avco Corporation. As a Federal Government consultant, he was deputy director of the President's Test Program for Job Development, precursor of the present Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program.

Can it Motivate Industry to Hire the Hard-Core?

This must be recognized if there is to be a realistic understanding of how far business is willing to go in its new-found anti-poverty crusade. The profit motive is what drives businessmen in our free enterprise system. They will respond to anything which threatens their profits or which holds out the promise of protecting or increasing those profits.

The response of the business and industrial community to the crises in our cities has so far followed a traditional course. Businessmen have held countless meetings, given speeches, formed committees, and otherwise indicated they are fully aware of the problem. They have also committed some of their financial resources, technical ability, and managerial expertise to a direct attack on some aspects of poverty. This latter commitment has been largely of a token nature, offered in the same spirit with which business approaches a civic obligation such as the Community Chest. There has been no all-out private sector attack on poverty problems, because such a commitment would require large amounts of funds and would impair business profitability.

Nonetheless, what has happened within the business community in the past 2 years represents a major forward step. Businessmen are aware of the problem; they are "turned on." They recognize they have a legitimate responsibility and are prepared to move forward if they can do so without endangering their business enterprises. The response to the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program is a case in point. Despite the complexities of contracting with the Government, the arbitrary dollar amounts available, and the risk factors involved in the JOBS program, more than 1,500 private companies launched programs under Government contracts to hire and train disadvantaged individuals. This represents the first major involvement of the private sector in manpower programs directed toward the disadvantaged. It took place because the extraordinary costs were covered by Government funds and did not have to be absorbed by the companies themselves.

The initial success of the JOBS program should provide a lesson for those attempting to obtain similar private sector involvement in low-cost housing and urban education; two other aspects of the poverty problem. Kenneth Clark has argued that only the know-how of the business community can rescue urban education; yet there are presently no vehicles which enable the private sector to make an impact on education. Similarly, the private sector has failed to respond to the critical need for low-cost housing because present Government programs fail to trigger the profit motive.

The presence of the private sector in manpower programs for the disadvantaged is relatively new. It is worth examining how the trend started and what has been learned by the experience to date.

The trend had its beginnings about 5 years ago with the formation of Plans for Progress by 400 major corporations. The goal of the organization was to break down barriers to the employment of minorities and to encourage private companies to take the initiative in recruiting minorities for both blue collar and managerial jobs. Today, Plans for Progress operates a network of merit hiring councils in principal cities across the Nation. This program was directed toward minority members who were qualified to hold private sector jobs, but who had been frozen out of such jobs by discrimination.

The private sector began to involve itself with the disadvantaged about 3 years ago, but only in the capacity of a trainer under Government contract. Numerous companies accepted cost-plus contracts from the Office of Economic Opportunity and other Government agencies to conduct training schools, such as Job Corps Centers, designed to equip the disadvantaged with marketable skills. The companies assumed no obligation to hire the trainees, and placement results were spotty.

In the autumn of 1967 a new "Business-Government" partnership program was launched to encourage the private sector to *hire* and train the disadvantaged. The program was known as the President's Test Program for Job Development, and represented a major philosophic breakthrough by the Government. Under the Test Program, the Government reimbursed private companies for the extra cost encountered in transforming a disadvantaged individual into a productive worker with a meaningful job. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz announced that industry could "write its own ticket" in this program. This meant that there were no fixed guidelines laid down by the Government, but instead industry was asked to use its own know-how in devising special training programs for the hard-core. If the cost of training a new employee from the normal working population was $500 and a company determined the cost of the special training services required by the disadvantaged would be $3,500, the Government was prepared to offset the extra $3,000 in training costs.

The Test program was tried on an experimental basis for 3 months in 5 cities to determine whether the private sector would respond to this new concept. The results demonstrated that private industry was willing to employ persons from the bottom of the manpower barrel

The JOBS Program expects to reach its first-year goal sometime this month, when 100,000 hard-core jobless will have been placed in jobs.

Hiring the hard-core is progressing at the rate of 20,000 placements per month.

Turnover among hard-core workers has been averaging about 4 percent per month since the start of the program, about the same as the normal turnover for the entry-level jobs.

Who Has JOBS Been Helping?

- 73 percent of the people hired through the JOBS Program are men
- 70 percent are between 20 and 40 years old.

  17 percent are under 20 years old.

  13 percent are over 40.
- 78 percent are Negroes.

  11 percent are white.

  6 percent are Mexican-American.

  2 percent are Puerto Rican.

  3 percent are of other origin.
- They have completed an average of little better than the 10th grade in school.
- They've been unemployed an average 25.4 weeks last year and their family income last year averaged $2,773.
- The worker hired through the JOBS Program has an average family size of 3.9 persons.

What do people hired through the JOBS Program make?

more than $3 per hour--4 percent

more than $2 per hour--33 percent

$1.75 per hour--65 percent

less than $1.60 per hour* --3 percent

*Federal minimum wage.

if industry could do so without being saddled with the extra costs. Industry, as indicated earlier, had finally faced up to its responsibilities, and the Test Program was the vehicle which allowed a company to take affirmative action. Within 3 months, more than 150 major companies had committed themselves to participate in the program, and about 20 companies advanced firm proposals for hiring and training the hard-core under Government contract.

The success of the Test Program led last January to the creation of the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector program which extended the new concept to 50 major American cities. The JOBS program lacked the flexibility of the Test program but nonetheless has already placed 84,000 disadvantaged persons on jobs, according to the most recent report to the President.

It is worth examining the varied approaches used by the private sector in hiring and training the hard-core if we are to understand how companies put their know-how to work on the problem. Some firms established new plants in the ghetto, others fed disadvantaged persons into existing plants and integrated the disadvantaged with their normal work force. Still other firms established relationships with small black-owned ghetto companies and directed orders to those companies, causing an expansion of employment.

A pioneering venture in employing the disadvantaged was launched by the Aerojet General Corporation of California, which established the Watts Manufacturing Company several months after the Watts riot. The Watts firm was to provide jobs for more than 400 ghetto residents. This venture was undertaken with a minimum of Government help, and training techniques used by Aerojet have been widely copied by other companies. Aerojet "over tooled" its Watts manfacturing functions, breaking tasks down into components which could be handled by the unsophisticated new employees. A "buddy system" was established, under which new employees were assigned to work alongside experienced employees. Traditional hiring and screening procedures were scrapped, and Negroes from the community were employed in supervisory positions. Various other supportive services, which have since been found essential to the retention of the disadvantaged on jobs, were not provided by Aerojet because of the heavy costs involved. Consequently, turnover was high during the first year at the Watts Manufacturing Company.

Companies which engaged in the Test program and had their abnormal costs covered by Government funds, took a more sophisticated approach than did Aerojet. The Avco Corporation established a printing plant in the Roxbury ghetto of Boston and incorporated a 21-week "vestibule" training program to prepare the hard-core to embark on apprenticeships in the printing trades. The Avco approach included special orientation and counseling, motivation, remedial education, health and legal services, and a job coaching component which was a refinement of the Aerojet buddy system. The more sophisticated approach paid off—turnover was insignificant. But the program was costly. Avco received $5,000 per trainee to cover the extra costs.

The costs were sharply lower for the Rauland Corporation, a Zenith subsidiary in Chicago, which received about $1,000 per man for a program involving 2,400 hard-core unemployed. The vestibule period lasted only about 1 month at Rauland; then the new employees were fed into the regular working force where they received additional on-the-job training.

Under the JOBS program, the unit cost is running about $3,000 per man, and a variety of approaches are being tried. In Washington an auto dealer is putting 20 disadvantaged persons through a 1-year auto mechanic program and at the half-way point is enthusiastic about his results. In San Antonio the local homebuilders association has created a consortium of its members who have manpower needs. They have established a central training facility where new employees receive 6 weeks of vestibule training and initial skill training and then are directed to an individual company where training continues on the job.

These programs are so new that it is much too early to draw any firm conclusions about them. But the fact that the private sector—given a relatively free hand and with abnormal costs being picked up by the Government—engaged in them demonstrates that business and industry have a contribution to make in this critical area.

To date, the private sector's impact on hard-core unemployment has not been great. The recent JOBS program report to the President said 61,000 of the 84,000 hired under the program are still on the job. Yet it is estimated that there are some 500,000 hard-core unemployed in our society today. For a variety of reasons many companies have made only "token" responses under the JOBS program. Some want to develop more experience before making further hires. Others recognize the serious shortcomings of the JOBS program—the rigidity of its guidelines and the considerable financial risk involved because of turnover. Nonetheless, companies have involved themselves. They recognize their responsibility, they fear the results of further ghetto turmoil, and perhaps most importantly they have pressing manpower needs which cannot be met in any other way.

This latter point deserves elaboration. It is a prime reason why the JOBS program has scored its initial success. In our healthy expanding economy, jobs are going begging in many firms while disadvantaged ghetto dwellers stand idle on street corners. Industry, to meet its own needs, is willing at this time to tap the new disadvantaged manpower pool, especially when the extra costs of such hiring are covered by Government funds. But what will happen late this winter or in early spring when, according to economic experts, the 10 percent tax surcharge starts to bite and our booming economy begins to slow down? If unemployment rises to 4, 5, or 6 percent and industry has its pick of qualified workers, will the private sector be willing to continue hiring the disadvantaged?

The realistic answer must be no—at least under the limited incentives of existing Government programs. The private sector has been willing to abandon cardinal business practices and hire the least qualified workers because no one else was available. If qualified workers are on the market, and there is no real incentive to undertake complicated and time-consuming training programs for the disadvantaged, the response of the private sector is predictable.

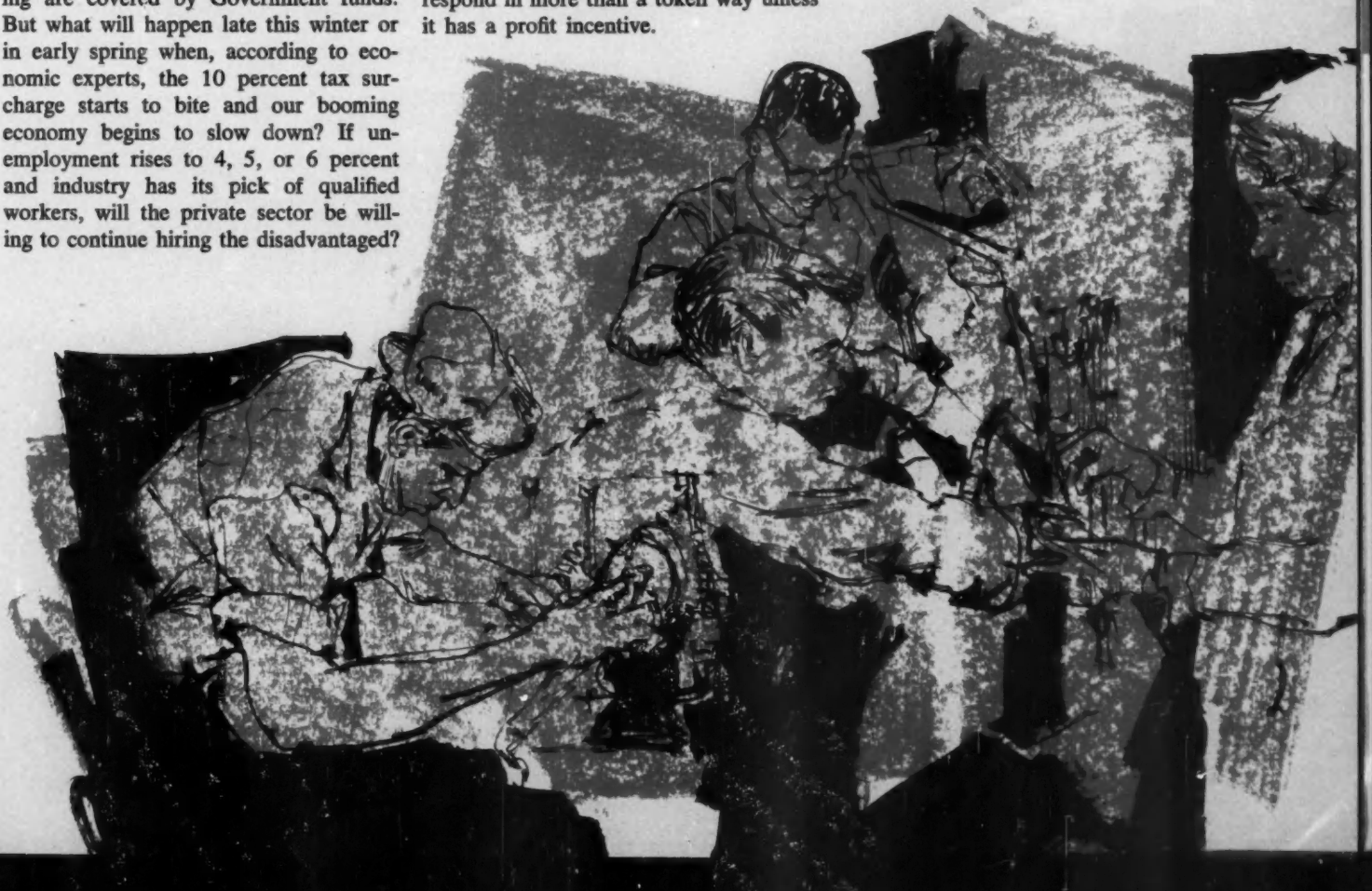
There are numerous social and philosophic reasons why our society should continue to give preference to the disadvantaged in employment to compensate for generations of discrimination and neglect. But officials responsible for formulating policy to carry out this objective must be realistic in developing programs to involve the private sector. During periods of full employment, the present limited programs may suffice. But to really solve the problem—regardless of the Nation's economic health—it will be necessary to trigger the profit motive if one expects to fully involve the private sector.

It is not the purpose of this paper to recommend how the profit motive can be harnessed for an attack on our Nation's critical socio-economic programs. My purpose is to state that industry will not respond in more than a token way unless it has a profit incentive.

Our Government has recognized this truism in the past. When we began our space program, we did not ask industry to develop new and sophisticated space vehicles for patriotic reasons. Instead we offered cost-plus contracts and research and development funds to the private sector to help us be first on the moon. The response of the private sector was automatic: companies of all kinds tackled the job because there were profits in it for them.

The socio-economic problems confronting our Nation warrant an even higher national priority than space exploration. If we are willing to offer cost-plus contracts and tax incentives to get to the moon, certainly we should also be willing to take a similar approach to help solve the crises in our cities and end the grinding poverty which afflicts too many members of our society.

The private sector, if properly mobilized and motivated, offers the brightest hope for the solution of these socio-economic problems. True Business-Government parnership programs must be devised—programs which do not cast the private sector in a junior partner role but allow business to focus its unrivaled resources and expertise on the problems.



DCMA: A Unified Attack on Manpower Problems

Almost within view of the marble facades of the Nation's Capital a dozen or so neighborhoods hold about 25 percent of the city's population and the lion's share of its problems, among them: unemployment rates of up to 14 percent and underemployment rates as high as 44 percent.

A Unique Organization

These areas are the major targets of the District of Columbia Manpower Administration (DCMA). Established less than a year ago, the agency is the product of an effort "to create a model manpower administration—a showcase, if you will, of what can be done when bureaucratic lines are erased and all members of the team work in unison," says D.C. Manpower Administrator Horace R. Holmes.

It is an integrated and coordinated organization, whose staff is aware of the problems that exist and the means of dealing with them, sensitive and responsive to the needs of the community it serves.

The need for an extraordinary kind of agency to cope with Washington's manpower problems stems from a unique set of circumstances in the Capital. In addition to the employment problems of a typical large city, compounded by the role of the Federal Government as the city's major employer, Washington's employment problems are spread across parts of two States, half a dozen counties, and scores of smaller political jurisdictions, while the city itself has no State agency to lend support. Washington does benefit from direct Federal control of its manpower agency, and it is this control which makes possible some unique arrangements within the D.C. Manpower Administration.

The Employment Picture

About 2.7 million people live in metropolitan Washington, and the civilian work force numbers 1.2 million. In August 1968, the last date for which figures are available, the unemployment rate was 2.3 percent—27,000 people actively hunting jobs and not getting them. What these figures fail to disclose is the more pernicious underemployment that exists—primarily in the innercity—where manpower agencies estimate 25 percent of the residents have some kind of employment problem. And the figures also fail to reflect the people who have given up the fight and are not even looking for jobs.

The Federal Government accounts for about 51 percent of all jobs in the metropolitan area, with State and local governments accounting for another 10 percent. After Government come the service industries, retail trade, transportation, finance-insurance-real estate, and construction, in that order. There is little heavy industry in the area.

Groups With Special Problems

While about 21 percent of the area's workers are Negroes, they hold only about 9 percent of the white-collar jobs. Negro employment concentrates in the restaurant and hotel trades.

As in other cities, the unemployed and subemployed in the District have a common heritage of inferior education (57 percent); limited skills, ability, or training (40 percent); physical or mental handicap (16 percent); police or garnishment records (7 percent); and discrimination, broken homes, dope addiction, etc. (25 percent).

Washington shares with most large cities throughout the Nation the paradox of large numbers of jobs unfilled and large numbers of people seeking work.

State and Local Relations

If the city's employment problems are not unique, the political complications involved—and the resulting arrangements of manpower programs—are. As a Federal city, Washington

has no State operated Employment Service, no State agencies to aid in funding manpower programs, and no State operated Unemployment Insurance program. The assistance that a State would normally provide is supplied through the District's government agencies and with assistance directly from various Federal agencies.

Washington also has a complex problem in State relations, with the city bordering Maryland and Virginia. Communities of Washington-employed residents spill across the District line and as far as 20 miles into both States.

The District itself has a presidentially appointed local government with Walter Washington as Mayor. Its D.C. Manpower Administration (DCMA) is operated by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration, and functions normally carried out by State Employment Service agencies are under the DCMA.

The Washington employment situation requires a close-knit manpower program for the District which can work effectively with the surrounding political jurisdictions, says Administrator Holmes. If the task is difficult today, it was even more difficult a year ago when manpower responsibilities were dispersed throughout a multitude of Federal and local agencies and individual advisory and operating groups.

Establishment of DCMA

In order to streamline the operation and eliminate the necessity for so many agencies, Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz and Mayor Washington last March jointly announced a realignment of the D.C. manpower programs, pulling together the fragmented operations into the DCMA with Holmes as its head. Holmes reports directly to Labor's Assistant Secretary and Manpower Administrator, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, and serves as Mayor Washington's chief manpower advisor and as a member of his cabinet.

Holmes is determined to get a manpower viewpoint built into activities of the various city agencies and community organizations and to tailor the manpower programs to the needs of the city. As a member of the Mayor's cabinet, he works directly with heads of local agencies concerned with delivering public services to District residents. The DCMA also reviews the Mayor's budget and makes recommendations to the City Council from a manpower perspective. Holmes serves also on several committees which tie the DCMA in with other agencies and programs.

DCMA embraces into a single organization responsibility for all Manpower Administration programs and services in the Washington area, including apprenticeship; training under the Manpower Development and Training Act; work programs authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act; the U.S. Employment Service for D.C.; and operation of the Work Incentive Program for the District.

There are two major operating units —the Office of Work Program Operations and the U.S. Employment Service for D.C.—supported by three staff offices: Community Information, General Management, and Operational Planning and Review. DCMA has a staff of about 370 persons and a program budget, including contracts which DCMA monitors, of more than $30 million for the current fiscal year.

The Employment Service identifies the unemployed and the underemployed, assesses their potential, and refers them to training or jobs. In addition to its main office on Pennsylvania Avenue, it has eight "intake centers" in the city's slum neighborhoods, including four operated jointly with the United Planning Organization, Washington's community action agency, where jobseekers can be processed. In addition to working with UPO on the Concentrated Employment Program, the Employment Service also operates the District's Work Incentive Program.

Public and private organizations under contract with the DCMA conduct work training and apprenticeship programs. It is the job of the Office of Work Program Operations to administer the contracts and provide support and technical assistance.

While establishment of the DCMA did not eliminate the dozens of agencies and organizations that are concerned with the city's manpower problems, it paved the way for development of a coordinating mechanism for channeling diverse activities into a unified attack on employment problems. This mechanism is the Washington Metropolitan Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS), chaired by the D. C. Manpower Administrator.

The 50 CAMPS members representing the major local manpower, welfare, and education agencies work together to make manpower programs work. Last summer they got jobs for more than 18,000 young people—nearly half of them from families on welfare or below the poverty level.

D.C. WIN Program

The new Work Incentive Program (WIN) is a good example of how the DCMA components work together and with other agencies in putting people on jobs. The WIN program, authorized by Congress in 1967, tries to move people off welfare rolls by training them and finding them jobs. The trainees get $30 a month from the program as an incentive to prepare for a job, plus their welfare payments and other adjustments.

D.C.'s program began operating last August with 70 welfare recipients enrolled. Classes have since been approaching the target of 150 new trainees a month.

A five-man team—counselor, manpower specialist, work training specialist, job coach, and a clerk—works with each trainee. During a 2½-week orientation period, which includes testing and interviews, the trainee gets an individualized plan that hopefully leads to a job.

Less than 5 percent of the trainees are ready for immediate employment, and about 90 percent require basic education.

The WIN program also provides training for high school equivalency tests, Civil Service examinations, typing, and other clerical skills. Educational aid doesn't stop necessarily when the trainee gets a job. Working with and through the Board of Education and with private organizations, the program continues to provide remedial education and tutorial services when needed.

Trainees go on to work training sites for training as clerks, barbers and cosmetologists, auto repairmen, and the new paraprofessional occupations such as education assistants and job counselors.

Aaron Alexander, DCMA's WIN coordinator, says most of the trainees are women. "We encourage them to think about nontraditional jobs, such as bus drivers or postal carriers," he says.

Manpower specialists monitor trainees at the work training site and work with other D.C. Employment Service components to get jobs for them. WIN sometimes refers trainees to other programs, such as Project Build which is training slum youths to qualify for openings in building trades union apprenticeship programs.

Concentrated Employment Program

Another example of a coordinated effort that gets jobs for local residents is the Washington Concentrated Employment Program. Since the program got underway a year and a half ago, it has screened nearly 12,000 jobseekers and found work or training for more than 9,600 of them.

Applicants come into two intake centers for testing, counseling, and placement by Employment Service staff. Satellite intake centers and contact work by WCEP staff assure a steady flow to the main centers.

Job coaches, recruited from the ghetto for the contractor's (United Planning Organization's) staff, are assigned to jobseekers to give them step-by-step support, particularly during the crucial period when they are first hired. The coach works also with the employee's supervisor to iron out any problems that develop on the job.

The jobseeker may be enrolled in a 2-week orientation course to develop habits of punctuality, steady attendance, good grooming, money management, and other qualities that will help him on the job. Or he may be referred to a remedial education center in the ghetto if he needs such help.

He can also get a physical examination, day care for his children, and transportation to the job. And he can continue to get these services, if he still needs them, after he is placed in a job.

Elements of Success

The D.C. Manpower Administration is one of the prime factors accounting for successful manpower programs in the District. Administrator Holmes feels much of the steady progress in manpower planning and programing is due to the five major roles played by the DCMA:

As unifier DCMA consolidates and concentrates, working through other agencies and programs to spur action and achieve results.

As planner DCMA provides an early warning signal of new manpower problems, working with and through existing organizations to develop programs to deal with the problems.

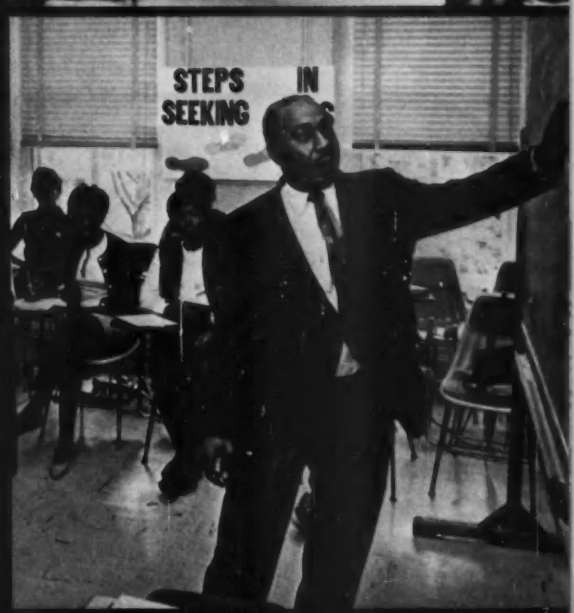
As recruiter DCMA reaches out to bring those in need of manpower services into touch with existing programs.

As encourager to Federal and private employers DCMA provides job and training slots for those most in need of help.

As expediter of program movement and information DCMA acts as a clearinghouse of manpower information, resources, and opportunities.

The DCMA operation, closely tied to the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration, contains features that could be incorporated into State agency operations. Among them are: the concept of the Employment Service as the deliverer of manpower services; the use of existing agencies and arrangements to provide manpower services; and the need for a manpower agency to be responsive to political and other community interests in the local area in which it operates.

In a city and during a year in which the barriers to progress at times seemed insurmountable, the DCMA has forged a powerful instrument which has been successful in probing and treating the community's manpower ills. The problems and programs which the agency will face a year from now—and many years in the future—will test its long-range effectiveness.



"... WE DON'T GET CONNED ..." An Interview with Petey Greene, S

If you want to see him about something, you may have to wait awhile. It seems everybody wants to see Petey Greene, an athletic, energetic looking Negro who supervises 17 job coaches for the Washington Concentrated Employment Program (WCEP).

They want to see him about getting employees for a new business, about getting a job for somebody who's about to get out of Lorton Reformatory, about where to go to get food stamps, about bailing somebody's brother out of jail, or about repaying a $1 loan.

In the District of Columbia slums Petey Greene has the reputation for being the kind of person who will go to any lengths to help you get a job—if you really want one. And if you're not sure you do, he can convince you that you do.

Some of his convincing is done on "Jobs 26," a local daily television show which Greene co-hosts and on which he counsels job hunters and discusses employment issues.

The 17 job coaches have a lot in common with Greene. Most of them, including Greene, are or have been on parole. They've served time in jail on charges ranging from car theft to armed robbery and narcotics offenses. They speak the tough language of the ghetto. But they're all holding down jobs and each is helping about 70 other residents of the city's Cardozo section to do the same.

"We're one step from being the people we're serving," Greene says. "It's a big job of followup. We go with the people to job interviews and give them some support. Maybe the guy is a little shaky. He can jaw with me and you all right, but when he gets in front of some guy with a suit and white shirt, he tightens up. With me there, he feels a little better.

"We get a job for maybe a file clerk. And we tell her, look don't let it drop here. We say learn to type, and one day when the typist is out sick and the boss says he needs to have something typed, you can tell him, 'I can do that.' Just don't let everything stop with a file clerk job."

But getting someone on the job or encouraging him to get one is only half of coaching. Keeping him on the job requires skills usually found among Hollywood press agents and theatrical agents for superstars. This is where the bail bond arranging, transportation arranging, explaining the situation to the employee's boss, and sometimes standing up to the employee's boss come in.

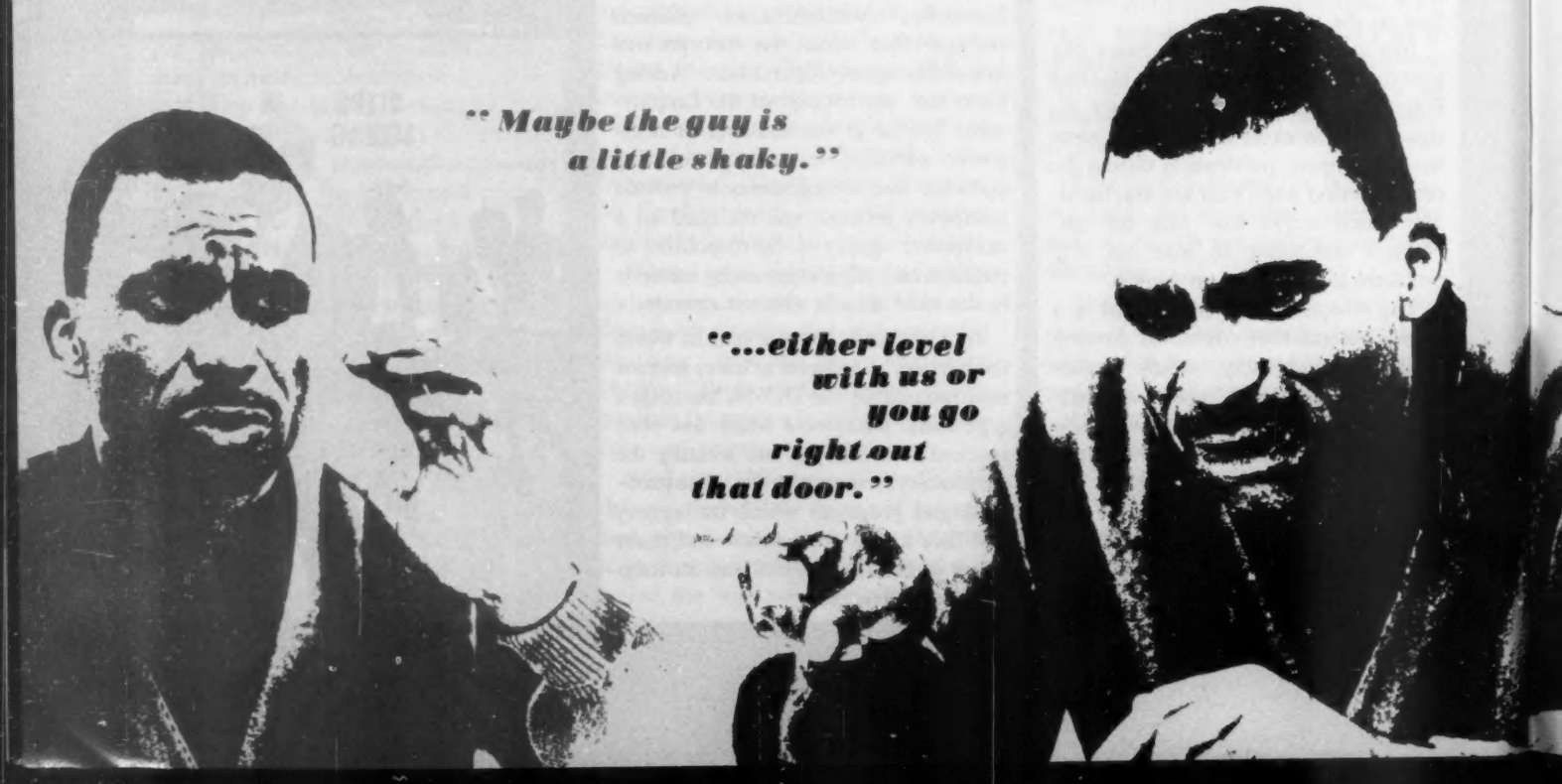
One vital requirement for a job coach, Greene says, is a "knowledge of the con," the ability to recognize that somebody's putting him on, feeding him a line, or just plain lying. The evaluation form that Greene uses in sizing up prospective job coaches includes a rating of the applicant's knowledge of con as well as ratings for his education, experience, and other more common criteria.

"We know that some people come in here who don't want to work," Greene says, pointing beyond his tiny office to a group of people being processed by counselors from the U.S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia.

"But we don't get conned," Greene says. "If we spot somebody trying it, we tell him look, you ....., either level with us or you go right out that door."

The approach apparently works. In a year and a half, WCEP has found jobs or training for more than 9,600 persons.

If the coaches don't like to be conned



by the people they serve, neither do they like to spot con on the official level.

"The manpower programs—employment and WCEP—are the best things I've seen come out of the poverty programs," Greene says. "Before, I used to hear statistics and names of programs, but I didn't see any bodies. It all looked like paper shuffling and letters. Then comes WCEP and the job coaches, and it's people you're dealing with. I see real live people getting put on jobs."

But there's con, he says. "There's non-existing jobs, training programs that don't lead to jobs, and projects that don't get funded."

And there are problems that seem to have no solution: "You've got these people in training, learning to get on and off a bus and transfer, and personal hygiene and all that. But who can think about training for a job when he's got an eviction notice in his pocket or maybe his family needs food stamps? So they've got these stipends, and that helps the guy start thinking about how to beat the system."

The criticism is generally on a hopeful rather than negative tone. As Greene puts it, "Now that we're inside, we can spot con, but we're comfortable inside doing something with the system."

Rudy Yates, one of Greene's coaches, has a list of recommendations and what he feels are cons.

"I see a lot of need for training for realistic jobs—jobs that are available now and that will continue to be available in the future," Yates says. "Auto mechanic training is all right to a degree. But now they can hook some machines up to your car to see what's wrong with it. This is the kind of training that an enrollee needs."

Supportive services need more attention, he says. "By the nature of the people we serve, we have problems," Yates explains. "But there are people on welfare who don't want to be there. And employers don't always understand what the problems of these people are. They're just interested in production. There are some programs to provide supportive services to these people—transportation and all the rest. But there aren't enough. One contract was to help 200 people, and it wound up serving 700. We need more."

Testing is another area drawing fire. "The people here don't always test out," Yates says. "They don't do well on some tests, but they could still produce for an employer. They have inherent abilities that could be developed or just need to be brought out. Unfortunately, employers don't always see it this way."

The organization of manpower programs doesn't seem to matter much to the coaches. Greene says, "At this level it's real people down here working with real people."

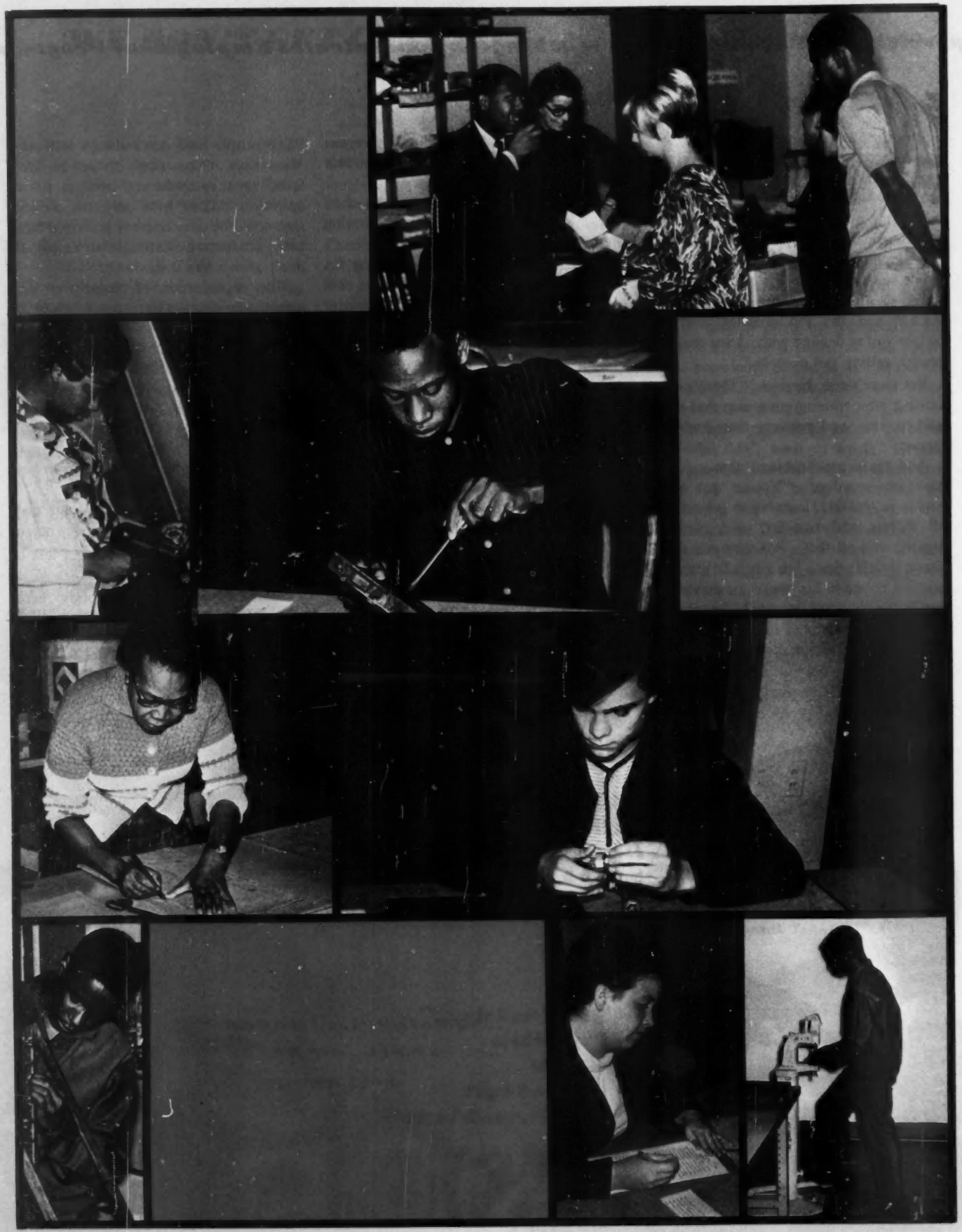
As far as the number of programs is concerned all the coaches ask is "a communications link so everybody knows what's going on." There may be some advantages in a large number of programs, they say.

"You may have several programs with the same function, but if you cut some of them out, some people will get lost in the shuffle," says Yates.

"We can't service everybody here. Maybe another program can help. You can't score 100 percent all the time, and some people are going to have a beef. When that happens, sometimes all we can say is, 'You have a good beef, but we do the best we can.' "

"...it's people you're dealing with. I see real live people getting put on jobs."

"...Sometimes all we can say is...we do the best we can."



NEW TOOLS FOR GETTING THE UNEMPLOYED INTO JOBS

WORK SAMPLES

"Here is a telephone that works. Use this screwdriver and follow this set of directions to take it apart.

"Do only what you are told to do on the instructions. Please do not take anything else apart.

"Once you have it all taken down according to these instructions, show it to someone at the desk. If it is done right, you can put it back together again.

"When you have finished, bring everything up to the desk with you."

This relatively simple task, called a work sample, is part of a technique that has begun helping to uncover the hidden job potential of the disadvantaged youths and adults who comprise a major portion of the Nation's hard-core unemployed and underemployed. The work sample technique promises to become a major aid in getting the disadvantaged into satisfying jobs.

After a successful trial run in Philadelphia last year, the Manpower Administration has decided to use the work sample procedure in several cities in programs aimed at the hard-core jobless.

Some 268 unemployed people from the slums of North Philadelphia tried their hand at the new procedure in the trial run, an experimental and demonstration project funded by the Manpower Administration. The project was conducted by the Philadelphia Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS), in cooperation with the Pennsylvania State Employment Service's North Philadelphia Human Resources Development Center, and was completed last fall.

It's no longer a revelation that the disadvantaged usually do poorly on conventional paper-and-pencil tests that measure aptitudes or intelligence. Lack of education, absence of suitable cultural background, and physical or emotional disabilities are among the factors working against the performance of the disadvantaged on conventional tests.

The work sample technique substitutes job tasks, tools, and equipment for standard answer sheets. The idea is not altogether new. A report from the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service points out that work sample techniques were originally developed in the 1930's for use in evaluating vocational abilities of the physically and mentally disabled. The new feature of the Philadelphia project is the use of the technique for the disavantaged.

The Philadelphia work sample program uses 28 progressively more demanding tasks, ranging from sorting nuts and bolts to proofreading, each task involving various abilities. One task, for example, involving putting together nuts, bolts, and washers, indicates a person's tolerance for simple repetitive activities, manual and finger dexterity, coordination, form perception, physical stamina, and ability to follow instructions.

Another task, involving taking apart a lock and putting it back together, measures dexterity, spatial and form perception, eye-hand coordination, adaptability to routine, and a preference for working with hands. The telephone work sample cited earlier requires most of the abilities already mentioned plus the ability to work with small components.

Dr. Saul S. Leshner, a psychologist and director of the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, says the tasks range in complexity from very simple to difficult activities involving symbolic reasoning and abstract concepts. They also simulate activities that would be encountered on a regular job.

In addition to being related to work in a way the disadvantaged can comprehend, the work sample approach provides a way to measure the applicant's ability to adjust to a job situation and gets around some motivational problems.

"Precisely because they are not highly abstracted and verbal and, therefore, do not resemble conventional aptitude and intelligence tests, work samples are accepted by the disadvantaged who fear standard tests—having failed them too often," says a report on the Philadelphia project.

To test the work sample technique, the project selected a random group of 268 Human Resources Development program job applicants whose poor reading ability prevented their taking the GENERAL APTITUDE TEST BATTERY. Another group of 206 applicants, serving as a control group, received the Human Resources Development Center's full counseling and placement services except for the work samples.

The work samples were administered over a 2-week period in a simulated industrial setting, complete with timeclocks on which the applicants punched in and work benches. The applicants received the standard MDTA youth training allowance of $20 per week.

The completed work samples are judged according to their complexity and occupational area. While the applicants perform the tasks, they are observed and evaluated on their work attitude, accuracy of performance, promptness, learning speed, acceptance of authority, expressed job interests, and other work-related factors.

The work samples are only counseling tools, the Philadelphia project points out, and not ends in themselves. The payoff

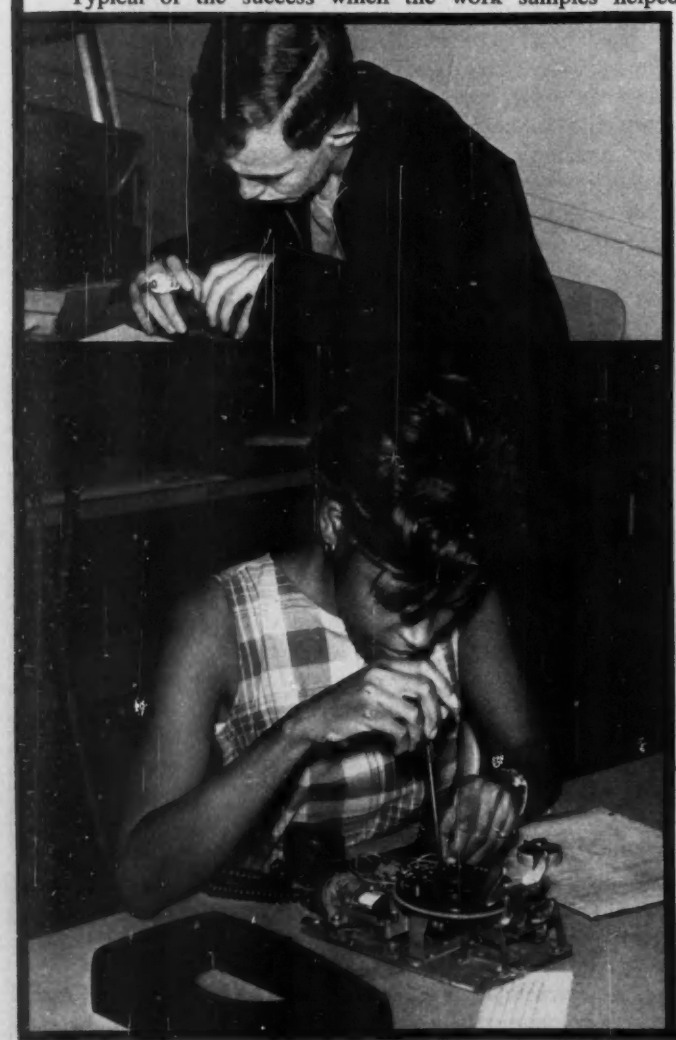
comes when the procedure is useful in directing the applicant to a job at which he will succeed.

The State Employment Service placed in jobs 40 percent of the 268 persons who did the work samples, compared with 23 percent of those in the 206-man control group. Followup 3 months after the counseling was completed found that 56 percent of those in the work sample group were still working or in training, compared to 35 percent of the group that had not had the work sampling.

Those who had the work-sampling experience had the edge, the project report says, because when an applicant finished the tasks, a job counselor had a good idea of the jobs the applicant could handle best and of his tolerance to frustration.

The personality factors observed during the work sample program "were crucial in determing employability because the individual evaluated often exhibited emotional problems which would affect his job performance," the project reported. "Assessment of such factors as persistence, dependability, independence, initiative, motivation, reaction to criticism and praise, social judgment, leadership, distractability, ability to handle stress, ability to channel energy, etc., helped the counselor to understand the individual better and to suggest suitable vocational goals."

Typical of the success which the work samples helped achieve in Philadelphia is Joe _____, a 17-year-old ninth-grade dropout who left school because he says he "couldn't take the rules and regulations" and "wasn't learning anything." He worked for 8 months as a stockman but was fired because of absenees and tardiness. He tried selling shoes, but quit after 2 months because he says he "was making nothing" and "I didn't like waiting on women who couldn't make up their minds about anything."



Joe visited the Human Resources Development Center and said he wasn't sure what he wanted to do but thought he might like to try office work. The GENERAL APTITUDE TEST BATTERY was no help to him. Joe couldn't read at the sixth-grade level. He was referred to the experimental project, where he was counseled and took the work sample battery.

He was pleasant, cooperative, persistent, and could do good work, the staff found. The work sample showed he could solve problems requiring average intelligence, insight, and understanding, had average coordination, and had a marked interest in the graphic arts.

The Jewish Employment and Vocational Service psychologists recommended that the Human Resources Development counselor talk to Joe about a number of job areas, but especially about graphic arts.

Joe finally decided to get some training to enter the graphic arts field and was placed in on-the-job training as an engineering aide. Some months later he passed a Civil Service examination for topographer trainee.

An interview 3 months later found Joe employed as a topographer aide, earning $3 an hour, and feeling that the job was permanent with a good chance for advancement. "Every detail about drawing is different and this makes the job interesting," Joe said.

With more than 50 stories like Joe's to its credit, the Philadelphia project seems to have passed its test. The project is to become the prototype for similar efforts in nine cities which have Work Incentive (WIN) programs training people on welfare for jobs. The cities are Boston, Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. The work samples will also be tried in the Mississippi Delta.

The Federal-State Employment Service also plans to use the work sample technique in many of its offices, mainly in its Human Resources Development Centers in urban ghettos where the stress is on reaching the hard-core jobless.

Meanwhile, work on further refinement of the work sample technique continues. In Charlotte, North Carolina and Trenton, New Jersey work sample operations are being conducted on an experimental basis with the cooperation of local employers who have contributed machinery and materials for work samples directly related to the kinds of jobs the employers have available.

In Trenton, employers are observing the work sample performance of applicants and hiring those who perform adequately. In Charlotte, employers have agreed to accept applicants who fail company standard entry tests but who perform satisfactorily on work samples.

And in Philadelphia, the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service is refining the technique while employment service staffs learn how to install it in other locations.

States to Play Larger Role Under New MDTA Amendments

By Louise Harned*

The Congress in 1968 extended the Manpower Development and Training Act until June 30, 1972 and amended the 6-year-old act to give the States a larger role in the future development of manpower programs and policy.

The addition of a new title V to the act gives State governments greater flexiblity in developing and improving their manpower programs for the disadvantaged. It authorizes a 2-year program of matching grants which States may use to supplement, coordinate, and correct imbalances among current Federal services to develop and establish manpower programs tailored to the particular needs of their own populations.

The Federal Government will pay 75 percent of the cost of these State-developed programs which can encompass a wide variety of activities. The only requirements in the law are that the programs must improve the ability of disadvantaged persons to move into productive employment, that the programs be consistent with the State's Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) plan, and that the State give assurance that it will pay its share of the costs.

Within that broad permissive framework, States will have considerable latitude for developing their own planning capabilities and providing services that could range from medical and day-care centers to new training and employment programs. The Secretary of Labor will, however, have the final responsibility for determining whether specific State proposals fulfill the requirements of the new title. Activity under this amendment must await appropriation of funds by the Congress.

Congressional interest in greater State participation in manpower programs was also reflected in several technical amendments to the MDTA. These provisions include giving the States a larger role in approving project applications. One provision permits a State to approve, without further Federal approval, project applications for an amount not to exceed 20 percent of the funds apportioned to it.

Under another provision, the Secretary of Labor may not reallocate unused State funds until after the ninth month of the fiscal year. Previously such funds could be reapportioned after 6 months.

Long-run improvement in the quality of manpower services is expected to come from two other amendments to the act. The first provides that 2 percent of appropriated funds may be used for technical assistance and training of the governmental and nongovernmental personnel who plan and administer public and private manpower programs.

Technical assistance may be available, for example, to help people running on-the-job training programs—from top management to immediate supervisors of individual trainees—respond sensitively to the special problems of the hard-core unemployed.

Federal, regional, and State staff, as well as private citizens involved in manpower programs, may receive in-service training that will enable them to broaden their special fields of work.

The second amendment potentially may lead to extensive improvement in manpower services. It reserves 2 percent of appropriated funds for establishing a nationwide statistics program designed to match the qualifications of unemployed, underemployed, and low-income persons with job vacancies. To develop the most advanced system possible for bridging the gap between available persons and available jobs, the Department of Labor will make extensive use of electronic data processing and telecommunications systems for storage, retrieval, and communication of job and worker information.

Finally, the amendments authorize what may be the first major step in a broad-scale attack on one of the most troublesome of existing employment problems—seasonal unemployment in the construction industry. The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce have been directed to make a joint study of ways to diminish the seasonal nature of employment in this industry.

The unemployment rate in the construction industry is nearly twice as high as that in other industries in the United States and seriously affects the rate for the country as a whole. Laborers in the industry generally work only slightly more than one-third of a normal work year. Although skilled workers, such as bricklayers, have longer periods of employment, they still frequently fail to work a full year. The Secretaries will report by the end of this year on their findings and practical recommendations on how to alleviate this waste of human skills.

* Miss Harned is with the Manpower Administration's Division of Policy and Standards.

JOBS A GO GO

JOBS A GO GO

By TERRELL TAYLOR*

Ordinarily restrained evaluators in government almost broke into "show biz" talk when they reviewed a recent manpower experiment in Ottumwa, Iowa. "A smashing success" is how they described "Jobs A Go Go," a series of half-hour television shows that is supplying jobs to hard-to-reach, unemployed, rural residents in southeastern Iowa.

Part of a series of experiments trying to find better ways of getting job information to rural areas, the television shows seem to be one of the best methods available for reaching people who either will not or cannot come to Employment Service offices under normal circumstances.

"Jobs A Go Go" was the brainchild of Bill Hood of the Iowa State Employment Service. Hood was the host or emcee on the shows and is manager of the agency's Labor Mobility Project, an effort encouraging unemployed Iowans to relocate in areas of the State where jobs are available.

The Ottumwa area offered a typical problem in how to reach into the sparsely populated countryside, where much of the area's poverty is located, and tell the residents about jobs.

Ottumwa is a city of about 34,000 people. The nearest larger city is 70 miles away. Rural people drive 50 miles and more into Ottumwa to work, shop, and for recreation.

Arnie Solem, of the Manpower Administration's regional staff in Kansas City, says, "We often hear it said that hardly anyone living 15 or 20 miles away from a local Employment Service office even knows that there is an employment service . . . In some areas these offices may be more than a hundred miles apart."

"Jobs A Go Go" attempted to shrink that distance figuratively, while spreading the word about jobs. It was financed in part by a $5,000 grant from the Manpower Administration to the Mass Communication Institute of the University of Iowa.

KTVO in Ottumwa broadcast the first show little more than a year ago at 10:30 one Monday night. While the Court Jesters, a local band, banged out pop tunes, a KTVO announcer introduced the show and Bill Hood.

Hood gave a 90-second summary of what the show was trying to do: Representatives from four companies in the area were in the studio and would tell about job opportunities in their firms. If somebody watching were interested, he could call the station collect, and someone from the Labor Mobility Project staff would set up an interview.

The 4 companies represented were a plastic resin firm, a meat-packing firm, a munitions manufacturer, and an elec-

tronics company. The jobs offered ranged from assembly line work paying more than $2 an hour to electronic equipment servicing which required some college training.

Between 5-minute presentations by the employer representatives, the Court Jesters supplied more rock and roll. The

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band served two purposes, Hood says, providing some entertainment value to the show, thereby adding to its holding power,

and giving interested people a chance to call the station without fear of missing another employer's presentation.

The Labor Mobility staff members at the station were to receive calls, provide job information, make appointments, and to the degree possible, assure that callers got to speak with an employer representative.

Jobseekers were invited to phone while the show was on the air and for the half-hour immediately following. The telephone numbers for workers to call were superimposed on the TV screen regularly during the broadcast and Hood announced them at frequent intervals throughout the program.

At the outset, three telephone lines were used. By the end of the hour during which the telephones were manned, all five trunk lines into the station were in constant use, and more than 60 calls had been received.

All four employer representatives were available for interviews at an Ottumwa motel for 2 days following the show, and more than 130 workers contacted the representatives through the Mobility Project office or directly at the motel.

To facilitate operations, first one and then two mobility interviewers were assigned to the motel to direct traffic and keep track of applicants. The balance of the staff remained at the office to process applicants and to answer inquiries. Neither group was able to keep pace with the activity.

By the end of the week in which the program was aired, nearly 220 workers had responded to the broadcast. Telephone, mail, and personal inquiries into the opportunities offered on "Jobs A Go Go" continued through December and into January. Of the 220 workers responding, 130 received definite job offers from the employers appearing on the show and other employers in the area, and 97 of the 130 were actually placed in jobs. The others either refused the job offers outright or decided not to relocate because of the lack of housing in the job areas.

Roughly 45 percent of those who accepted jobs as a result of the "Jobs A Go Go" show were at least minimally disadvantaged. While few of the jobseekers had been unemployed for more than 15 weeks, most of them had been unemployed from 5 to 10 weeks and their previous employment had been seasonal. The new jobs, in addition to the $2-plus starting hourly wage, offered steady work.

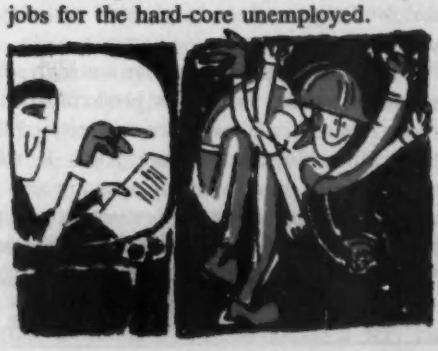
Two-thirds of the 220 had not had contact with the Employment Service in recent years. Nearly all of them lived in rural areas, with nearly two-thirds of them coming from villages and towns with populations under 1,500.

Because of its success and effectiveness in reaching applicants not normally in contact with the Employment Service, the "Jobs A Go Go" format was used again and with comparable success in May, June, and finally last September. Each new show featured different employer representatives and a different style of music.

On the basis of feedback from the community and discussions with the people who responded to the program, it appears that several factors contributed substantially to the success of the "Jobs A Go Go" series.

If "Jobs A Go Go" can go so well in a rural area, the next question is can it go in a densely populated urban area? The names of the programs may be different, but shows like "Jobs A Go Go" are proving successful in the big cities, too. In several cities, television viewers may watch "Opportunity Line" programs, local shows telling about jobs. In Boston, 1-minute television "spots" advertise jobs available through the Massachusets Division of Employment Security.

In general, from Boston to Boise and with places like Ottumwa in between, manpower programs are looking to television as a good media for their message: jobs for the hard-core unemployed.



TRAINING THE HARD-C

By JUDAH DROB and VERNON SHEBLAK

Each of the many Federal manpower programs undertaken in this decade shares a common problem which, if not handled effectively, can eliminate any chance of the programs reaching their goal of placing anyone who is willing to work in a meaningful job. For the programs to place someone in a job they must produce a jobseeker who has a certain amount of education and an understanding of the attitudes which make a worker successful. Whether the jobseeker obtains these qualifications in an on-the-job learning arrangement in private industry or in a public facility, somewhere along the line he must obtain some training.

The hard-core unemployed are people for whom the traditional training methods have been inadequate or have not been available. Manpower programs, seeking the most effective methods of training the disadvantaged, have been trying to find out how and why traditional methods have failed and how training methods can be improved.

Characteristics of the Hard-Core Unemployed

As trainers, if we are to deal intelligently with disadvantaged persons, we must become aware of some of their characteristics. Recent Department of Labor studies show that in poverty areas:

- There is an above average proportion of older people; of widowed, divorced, and separated persons; and of members of ethnic minority groups.
- White people outnumber nonwhites by 3 to 2, but in the very worst slums nonwhites predominate in total numbers.
- Nonwhites represent a majority of the unemployed.
- Unemployment among youth is shockingly high, but many men in prime working ages are also jobless. Since there are many more adult men, unemployed youths constitute a relatively small proportion of all unemployed males.
- Although the number of families headed by women is higher in poverty areas than elsewhere, nearly two-thirds are headed by men.
- Contrary to a widely held notion, the proportion of large families is no higher than in the Nation generally, the proportion of families with six or more members is about 15 percent in each case.
- Although relatively more persons in poverty areas are employed in service and laboring jobs, there are twice as many working in somewhat higher level occupations.

As summarized in the 1968 *Manpower Report of the President*, "There is, thus, some strength and stability in poverty areas, as well as considerable social pathology and disorganization."

Experimental and Demonstration Projects

The experimental and demonstration program of the Manpower Administration seeks to develop new ways to meet manpower problems. Projects have tested a variety of manpower services. The projects work with the disadvantaged, primarily from the large urban ghettos, and have tackled the difficulties posed by slum-area alienation, negative attitudes toward work and education, and other social and cultural barriers to employment. Experience gained through the experimental and demonstration projects permits the following observations.

Low Educational Attainment

A very large proportion of E&D project participants had very low educational attainment as measured by standard achievement tests. This holds true whether or not the participants had graduated from high school. A discrepancy of four grades was common between the participants' last grade completed and their actual literacy level. The low educational attainment level led to the inclusion in the E&D projects of basic education components designed to raise reading and arithmetic skills to the levels required for training for specific occupations.

Projects have reported that persons performing at the sixth grade level or above can be given basic education training

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CORE UNEMPLOYED

that will raise them to eighth grade levels or better, enabling the participants to progress further to a high school equivalency certificate. However, the projects have also reported that it is extremely difficult to obtain enough improvement in persons performing below the sixth grade at the start to make any difference in their ability to absorb skill training. Programed materials designed to relate basic education to skill needs show promise, but need more development.

Claims of average gain from the basic education are modest, on the order of about a grade and a half from several hundred hours of training. At least some of the gain can probably be attributed to the participants' greater acceptance of the testing situation after several months in the project, and some can be attributed to a recall of rusty skills.

The modest gains, especially for those who start with very low achievement, point up the extreme difficulty of sufficiently remedying serious educational disabilities for out-of-school trainees to facilitate a transition to well-paying jobs.

On the other hand, one project reported that basic education, even without skill training, brought many of its participants to the point where they could find good jobs on their own. It should be noted, however, that the basic education provided on that project included a great deal of job readiness training.

The same project reported that 30 percent of its participants had symptoms of dyslexia, a functional reading disorder that may have a neurological base, which had kept those participants illiterate. Dyslexia occurs at all social and income levels, but is least likely to be recognized and treated in the disadvantaged. When standard methods for teaching dyslectics were applied to the trainees, they learned to read and were then able to move ahead on their own. The project suggests that dyslexia is far more common among the disadvantaged than is recognized, that all who work with disadvantaged should be alerted to the possibility, and that treatment facilities should be more available and used.

Motivation of the Disadvantaged

It is often assumed that many disadvantaged persons are not motivated to work, do not share middle class standards of value, and need some sort of preparation to make them work-ready.

Most, if not all, who participated in the E&D projects came seeking jobs. Despite this prima facie evidence of motivation, many early projects put the participants through a long ordeal during which they were required to prove that they were work-ready to the satisfaction of the project managers.

In view of the poor quality jobs available to the participants, even after they had completed a long processing, their motivation must be judged to have been very great. Motivation, or an apparent lack of it, may be more related to the quality of opportunity (or of perceived quality) or to the quality of the appeal to work, than to anything intrinsic in the disadvantaged individual.

Motivation may also be seen as something that exists but is frequently masked because the individual doesn't want to expose himself to another disappointment. Since motivation is related to attitudes, and since many behavioral scientists believe that attitudes change after action changes, not before, it may be that attention to motivation is wasted, and that proper attitudes will develop if the youth is caught up in appropriate action.

Much has been made of a supposed cultural difference between the poor and the rest of society, a difference which is said to make disadvantaged persons less interested in jobs, less prompt, less disciplined, and less willing to accept conventional standards for success. That the difference may be more a matter of age than of social group is suggested by the way many middle class youths have rejected conventional standards. It may be that many teenagers are not sufficiently mature to settle down to regular jobs and otherwise exercise self-restraint. But it doesn't seem especially fair to require earlier maturity for disadvantaged youths when there are many cushions for other youths.

Even if the absence of favorable work attitudes were not deep-seated, the problem of changing work attitudes would be nonetheless a vexing one. The experiences that have created the "bad" attitude are real, and we are not yet certain how to provide the change in action in so convincing a way that

we can reach the disadvantaged person, persuade him, give him some success to build on, and thus change his attitude.

Long- Versus Short-Term Preparation

The disadvantaged person who is unemployed, and therefore a problem, almost always seems to have so many disabilities that it appears eminently reasonable to put him through a long-term preparatory process before placing him on a good job. Many early E&D projects made this assumption and were able to report considerable movement of the participants through the successive stages of the project. Nathan Caplan, studying participants in a Chicago youth project in depth, discovered the disquieting fact that there was much backsliding when near-completion was reached. He raised the question whether the long-term intervention was in fact counter-productive. Caplan's study suggests that many disadvantaged persons find the atmosphere of a long-term project so warm and pleasant that they would prefer it to the real world. The study also suggests that over the long term the disadvantaged person may overemphasize his disabilities, damaging his self-esteem.

An alternative approach to long-term training is being explored in which employers hire disadvantaged youth after a 2-week orientation by a project, train them, and provide special attention and support to facilitate their absorption into the work force. The project provides coaches who keep in touch with the employer and new employee and counsel both. Other experience also suggests that hire-first train-later may be a useful technique.

Work Sample Assessment

The disabilities of the disadvantaged person all conspire to offer him the narrowest possible range of job choices. His lack of skills, knowledge about the kinds of work that are available, and knowledge about his own capabilities, all combine with the counselor's or personnel man's inability to perceive the disadvantaged person's potential and to restrict him to the most menial and dead-end jobs. Typically, the standard aptitude tests do not reveal enough about a disadvantaged person because he does not score well on paper and pencil tests. Work samples, originally developed by sheltered workshops for the physically and mentally disabled, have been shown to be useful with those disadvantaged who are unable to read well enough to take tests. Use of the work samples has been refined by the Philadelphia Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) in an E&D funded experiment. (See "Work Samples: New Tool for Getting the Unemployed into Jobs," p. 24.) One of the conclusions from the experiment is that counselors find that work samples greatly enrich their knowledge of the trainee and enable the counselors to refer the trainees to a much wider range of jobs.

Crisis Counseling

E&D experience with counseling suggests that standard in-depth psychiatrically oriented counseling is inappropriate for the disadvantaged. What appears needed is crisis counseling—counseling which is given at the moment of need—and direction aimed at symptoms rather than at causes. This seems preferable to preparation—long in advance—for problems that may or may not actually arise in interviews with personnel officers or in relations with supervisors and fellow workers. The incentive to learn new behaviors is strong when the problem is present and real and when the pay-off for change is evident and attainable.

Counseling must continue when the disadvantaged person is placed on a job. E&D experience indicates that this is precisely when the need for counseling is greatest, to overcome the daily crises that would end the job if not promptly smoothed over. Crisis counseling should be available on a 24-hour basis and sometimes will be needed to mediate with various legal authorities. The need for an emerging participation of the business community in assisting those who need counseling is quite apparent.

Industry's Experiences with the Hard-Core

Many of the thousands of companies which have participated in the JOBS program conducted by the National Alliance of Businessmen have been reporting their experiences in dealing with the hard-core unemployed. At Lockheed Missile and Space in Sunnyvale, Calif., 111 trainees underwent a 4-week training program in either electrical assembly, keypunch operator or general factory skills. Instructors reported that they had to teach by repetition—much more than usual, but less than had been anticipated. They also found it necessary to use a low teacher-pupil ratio so they could give frequent recognition. Counseling, including on personal affairs, was a much bigger part of the task than the firm thought originally.

At Lockheed-Georgia in Marietta, instructors found that trainees were withdrawn, looked away when spoken to, or failed to ask for help when it was needed. Role-playing techniques were used to overcome these and similar problems.

Continental Airlines used on-the-job training instead of classroom instruction and made no distinction between its hard-core and regular trainees. Both Continental and Lockheed found that the termination rate was "substantially" below that for other new employees.

The National Alliance of Businessmen has recognized that the success of the JOBS program depends not only on adequate preparation of the new disadvantaged employee, but also on appropriate action by the employer, the immediate supervisor, and by fellow workers. For this reason, a number of programs have been undertaken, with financial assistance from the U.S. Department of Labor, to prepare first-line supervisors, middle management, and fellow-worker "buddies" to work with the new employees and to improve their chances of holding their jobs. These programs stress experiential learning, even though they are compressed into relatively short-time periods.

In summary, an entry-level job today requires more than physical strength. It requires education and an understanding of the attitudes that make a worker successful. Experimental and demonstration projects conducted by the Manpower Administration are dispelling many of the myths associated with training the hard-core unemployed. But more important, more effective techniques are being developed which are gradually improving the chances of placing the disadvantaged in meaningful jobs.

SEMINAR

Excerpts from Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program, A Series of Presentations Conducted by the Manpower Administration.

The Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program have been conducted since 1964 to provide a platform for guest speakers and for members of the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with manpower problems to discuss issues arising from the development of an Active Manpower Policy.

Transcripts of the seminars, which cover a variety of subjects related to the manpower field, are available from the Manpower Administration, Washington, D.C. 20210, and from the U.S. Department of Labor's Regional Information Offices.

Seminar excerpts appearing here are from recently published or soon to be published transcripts and represent some interesting points, though not necessarily the major ones, from the seminars. Expressions of opinion by the speakers are not to be construed as official opinions of the U.S. Government or the U.S. Department of Labor.

Rural and Urban Development Should Be Coordinated

By Varden Fuller, Ph.D.*

(From **Rural Manpower Policy, Manpower Seminar, June 1968**)

In 1946 this Nation made the basic policy decision under the Employment Act that we would not leave the determination of the level of economic activity entirely to free enterprise. We have gone through the years since then with the idea that any failures—any serious drops from full employment—would be the responsibility of Government. Only quite recently, with the National Alliance of Businessmen and similar associations and their reciprocal relations with Government, have we come to the point where we are about to formalize a policy approach which will share that responsibility for full employment as a complementary matter between the public and the private sectors.

All through these years we have left in the hands of the private sphere the question of where economic activity shall be. I believe that we are finally coming to another turning point in major social policy in the United States—to the idea that it makes a substantial difference to the welfare of the people of the United States where economic development occurs—that is, what its location shall be.

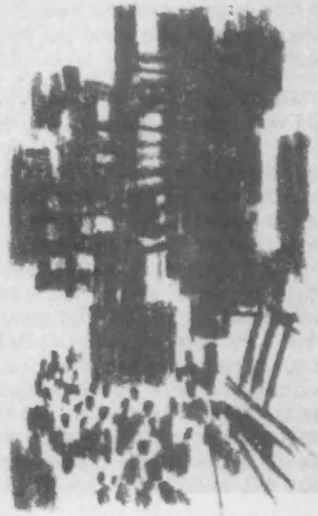
I suspect that sometime before very long we will have legislation on this matter. Hopefully, we will also witness the growth of a reciprocal relation between private business and Government in making policy decisions and establishing some guidelines that will keep us away from what I think is the dreadful outcome of the passive policy we have had.

Secretary Orville Freeman and others from the Department of Agriculture have been talking a good deal about rural renaissance, about rural-urban balance. At a conference in Stillwater, Okla., Secretary Freeman said he felt that perhaps rural-urban balance is not a sufficiently comprehensive concept. On this I have to agree. We have let people wander away from agriculture and be dispossessed and rendered obsolete by machinery and other technological change. We have sat passively and assumed that, somehow, the solution was coming when these people moved primarily to large metropolitan areas.

Now we are beginning to realize that a negative situation has been building. Secretary Freeman and others believe rural area nonagricultural economies should be developed that are sufficient for the people who otherwise would continue to migrate into metropolitan areas, or at least sufficient to offer them an alternative to stay in rural areas if they wish. As nearly as we know from the slender evidence available, many people would prefer to stay in rural areas if they were able to make a living there.

But this approach to rural development probably is not what we should ultimately recognize as a good policy of coordinating development of rural as well as urban areas. I suggest that we may as well recognize frankly that we live in an urban society. It is so now; it will be ever more so in the future. The question is, what kind of an urban society do we want? Does urban society mean rising proportions of nonagricultural employment and closely related activities with appropriate generalization of economic activities over space, or living in a vast complex of multimillion population cities?

Urbanization does not inevitably mean giant, grim cities. There are alternatives. We are beginning to



see the development of a great deal of interest in this country in trying to influence the direction of urban development into a less metropolitan-centered complex, or even, perhaps in trying to reverse the trend that has prevailed.

In St. Louis there is an example of reversal, or possible reversal. People there are seeking Federal funds to see if they cannot induce some of the more recent rural migrants who are unemployed or not fully employed to move out—not just to the suburbs of St. Louis, but out to the smaller towns in the countryside across Missouri. Obviously, the sponsors of the idea are going to approach their task carefully. They have not yet come to any conclusion. They don't have the basic facts concerning attitudes that would enable them to know how much they can do. They

* Dr. Fuller is Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of California.

SEMINAR Continued

are having to send survey teams to small towns in Missouri to try to find out how reverse migration might work, including what the attitudes of the townspeople would be if this kind of a program were initiated. I think the sponsors are a little apprehensive about whether the program would work, but they want to try it.

There is the question of whether we want, as a national policy, to carry a geographic or special arrangement of location of economic activity far enough to reverse some of our worst conglomerations. I am uncertain about how our thinking will develop. I would expect that we would become at least bold enough in our thinking about this in the next few years to adopt a policy that would somehow guide us toward a more broadly spaced geographical arrangement. Interestingly enough, actual developments in the private sphere support this expectation.

For example, some southern Iowa towns of 8,000 or 10,000 population are beginning to revive. They are getting both farm-related and nonfarm industries. The general pattern seems to be one of industries dispersing westward from the Mississippi River.

Another development is that the tiny crossroads villages between these small towns apparently are coming to life again. Some of the old houses are being bought and revitalized. The villages are becoming bedroom communities to nearby centers of economic activity located within easy commuting distance.

It seems to me that the prospect of achieving a comprehensive plan is so remote that we may have to do things provisionally in the meantime. We probably should think in terms of regional development, of small regions, and allowing a considerable amount of latitude and self-determination within these small regions. Otherwise, if everything has to be determined in one comprehensive, synoptic whole in Washington, there are a number of drawbacks.

First, the job won't get done on time and, second, the plans won't be those best suited to the peculiar circumstances of various areas and regions in the country. Somehow we need to have both an administrative agency and a general set of policies with some flexibility that will give general direction but will not be as precisely obligating as are certain categorical types of grants-in-aid that we have now.

I think we need to invent new methods as well as a new agency, and to have a general comprehensive policy in this area that will, I hope, terminate what I consider a very sad episode in the history of rural manpower policy—one not only of neglect but also of negative policies that have forced people out of rural areas. We have had a very negative posture about this. I am optimistic that we are going to have a better one.

PUBLICATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, copies of the following publications may be obtained from the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

1969 Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training by the U.S. Department of Labor. A review of accomplishments in the manpower field over the past 8 years and of alternative future directions in manpower programs. Available after January 15 from the Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402.

Manpower Research Projects through June 30, 1968. A description of all current and completed research projects conducted under contracts or grants with the Manpower Administration.

Transferring Military Experience to Civilian Jobs. A study of selected Air Force veterans. Manpower / Automation Research Monograph No. 8.

Canada Manpower Policy and Program. Manpower Research Bulletin No. 16.

Work Force Adjustments in Private Industry—Their Implications for Manpower Policy. Manpower / Automation Research Monograph No. 7.

Finding Jobs for Negroes. A kit of ideas for management. Manpower / Automation Research Monograph No. 9.

Federal Manpower Programs. An evaluation by the National Manpower Advisory Committee.

Credentials and Common Sense: Jobs for People Without Diplomas. Manpower Report No. 13.

The Influence of MDTA Training on Earnings. Manpower Evaluation Report No. 8.

A Government Commitment to Occupational Training in Industry. Report of the Task Force on Occupational Training in Industry.

Manpower and Operations Research Studies of the U.S. Employment Service and State Employment Services 1958-1967. A selected bibliography.

Equality of Opportunity in Manpower Programs. Report of activity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Manpower Services. A reference guide to job recruitment, training, and placement aids of the Manpower Administration.

Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program

Education, Employment, and Negro Equality, by Dr. Otto Eckstein.

Psychological Dynamics of Inner-City Problems, by Dr. Ross Stagner.

Rural Manpower Policy, by Dr. Varden Fuller.

The People Left Behind, by Dr. C. E. Bishop.

Civil Rights in the Urban Crisis, by Donald Slaiman.

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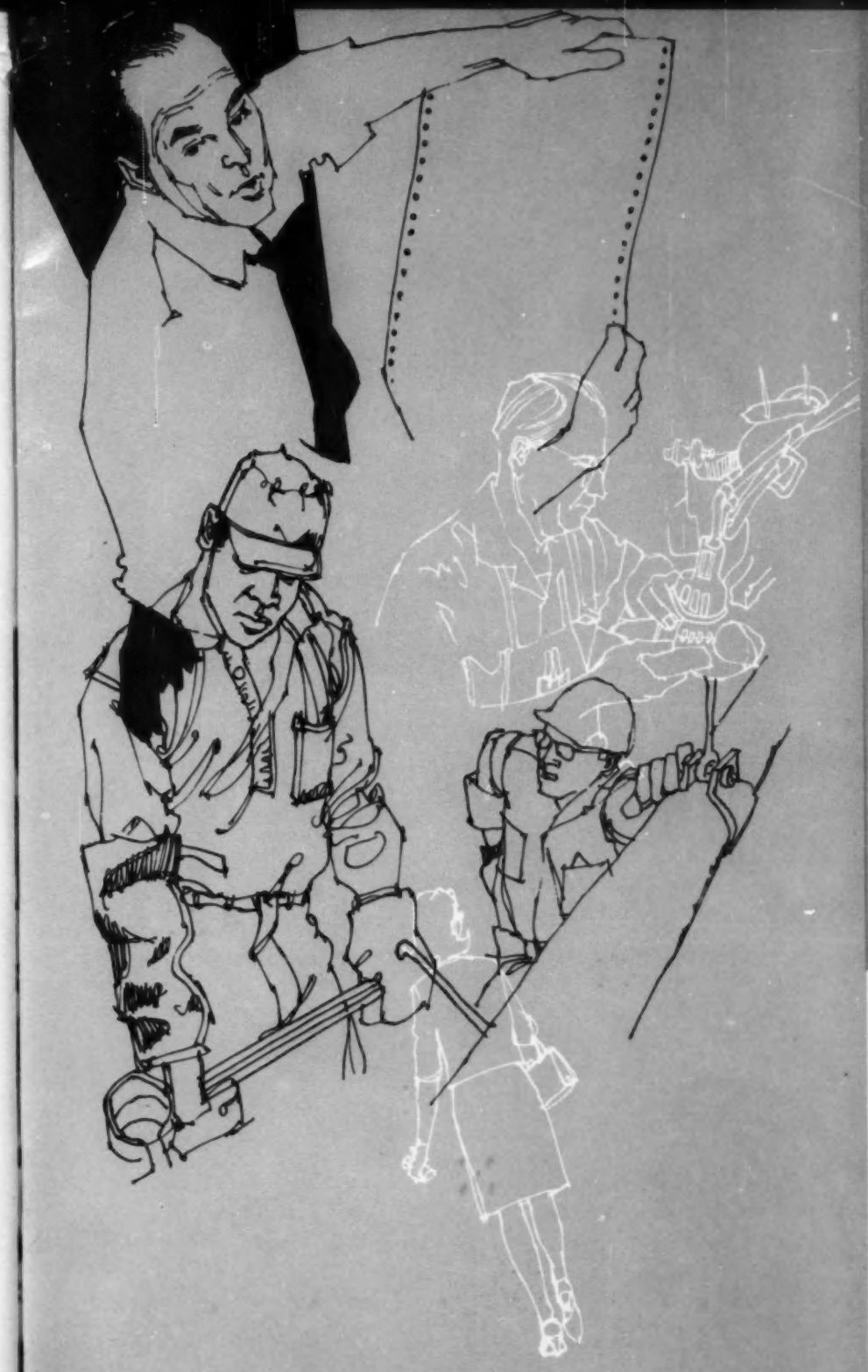

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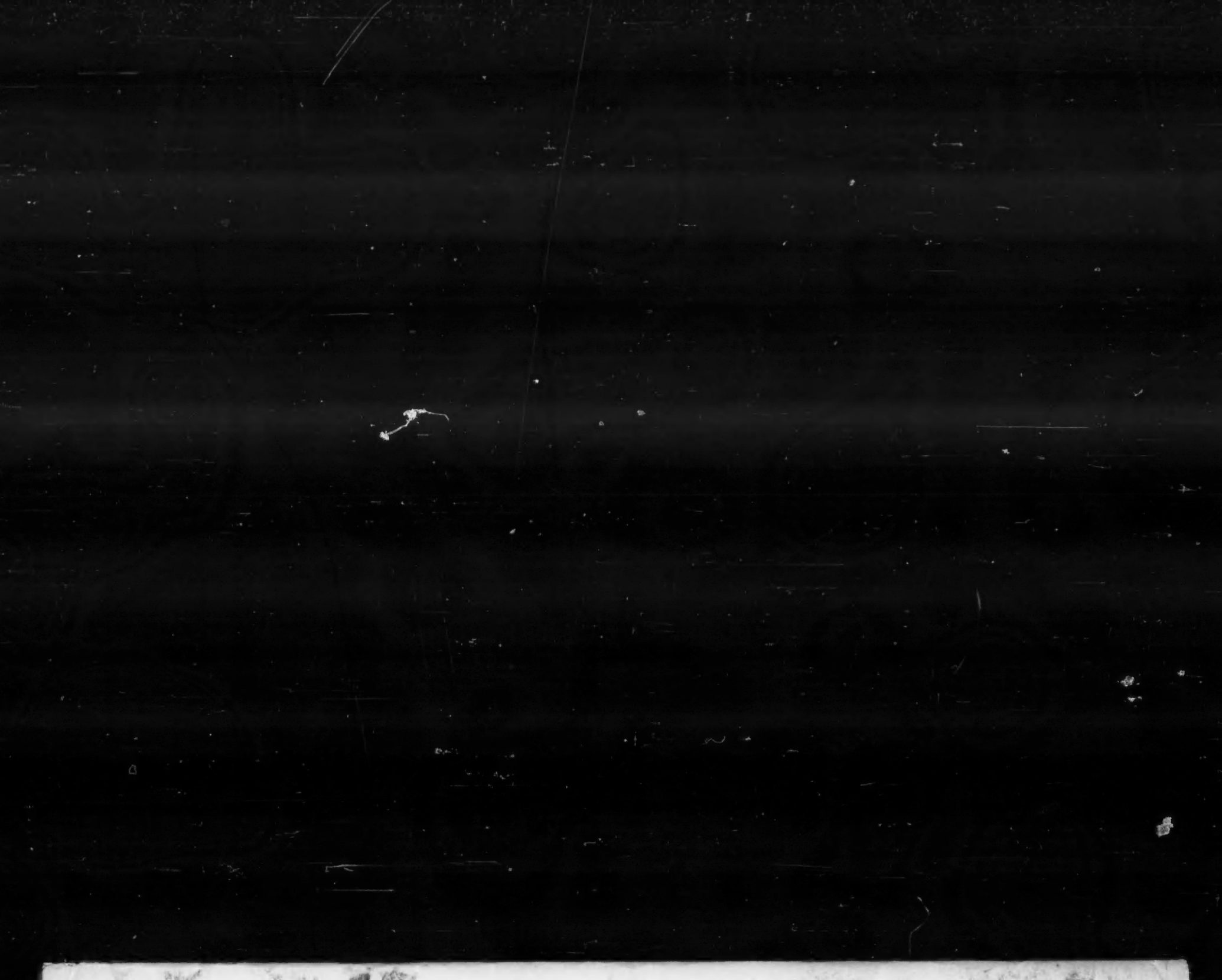
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